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MAY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, May 14, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; Colonel ASPINWALL in the chair.

The Secretary read the records of the last meeting.

The Librarian announced donations from the City of Boston; the City of Roxbury; the Town of Conway, Mass.; the Boston Board of Trade; the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the Trustees of Bowdoin College; the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston; the Editors of the "Advocate"; the Proprietors of the "Heraldic Journal"; the Publishers of the "American Athenæum"; the Publishers of the "Book Buyer"; John Appleton, M.D.; William S. Appleton, Esq.; W. K. Bowling, Esq.; George E. Chambers, Esq.; Elliot C. Cowdin, Esq.; Mr. Andrew Cushing; Charles H. S. Davis, M.D.; Ira A. Divoll, Esq.; Pliny Earle, Esq.; W. O. Eaton, Esq.; A. T. Goodman, Esq.; Capt. William F. Goodwin; Mrs. Phebe A. Hanaford; Baron Heath; Edward Jarvis, M.D.; Mr. Levi Ladd; Mr. James S. Loring; Daniel D. Slade, M.D.; Hon. Charles Sumner; William B. Towne, Esq.; D. Ullmann; and from Messrs. Aspinwall, Deane, Denny, Eliot, Ellis, Green, Lawrence, Metcalf, Minot, C. Robbins, Smith, and Stearns, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the publishing house of Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, saying that they propose to republish Harris's "Journal of a Tour into the . . . State of Ohio," in 1803; and they ask permission to prefix thereto a Memoir of Dr. Harris, in volume one, fourth series of this Society's Collections. On motion of Dr. ROBBINS, it was —

Voted, That the request of Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co. be granted, on condition that they acknowledge, in reprinting the Memoir, the source whence it was obtained.

Dr. ROBBINS presented, in the name of the proprietors and deacons of the New South Church in Boston, the original records and papers of that corporation, for which the thanks of the Society were ordered.

Mr. BRIGHAM exhibited and presented to the Society a "Plat of that Tract of Country in the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, appropriated for Military Services, and described in the Act of Congress, intituled 'An Act regulating the grants of Land appropriated for Military Services, and for the Society of United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,' — Survey'd under the direction of Rufus Putnam, Surveyor General to the United States." The plan is described as "Part of the Seven Ranges Survey'd agreeable to the Ordinance of Congress, of May 20, 1785."

Col. ASPINWALL spoke in fitting terms of the death of the Hon. W. C. Rives, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. DEANE read an extract from a letter of the Hon. H. B. Grigsby, a Corresponding Member, in which he spoke in a feeling manner of his personal loss in the death of Mr. Rives.

Mr. CHARLES H. HART, of Philadelphia, presented by letter, dated March 2d, copies of two original letters in his possession, which he said had never been printed. They here follow.

John Adams to —— ——.

PHILADELPHIA, April 2^{d}. 1776.

DEAR SIR, — This will go by my worthy Brother Dana, who is returned as he went, a very good Whigg, and much more abundantly.

I hope he will be appointed a Judge or Attorney General immediately, as he is extreamly well qualified for either.

Since my return to this place, I have lived in tolerable good Humour with our old Friend, notwithstanding the rash anger he expressed in certain letters.

I have had no Conversations between him and me concerning his seat upon a certain Bench. He has not said positively, but perhaps, if the Place should be left open till his Return, which probably will not be very long, for a visit at least, he may be induced to accept. For my own Part I wish he might. I have ever lived in Friendship with him, untill in the Month of August last he was pleased to quarrell with me, chiefly on account of some Important Points of Rank, I suppose — But these I [*a word omitted in the copy,*] to be blown over.

The Evacuation of Boston is a great Event, and if wisely improved will be a decisive one. — But we must fortify the Harbour. I must intreat you to let me know, with what Quantities of Powder you are likely to be supplied, and what Cannon you have, or can get, or what you want.

Perhaps we might obtain some assistance from the Continent, in fortifying that Harbour, if we knew what assistance you would want, — let us know and we will try.

The Tories, I think, will never loose sight of that Town; if they can possibly prevail on the Ministry to set on foot another Expedition against it, they will. — They will pursue it with a Bitterness and Severity inexpressible.

Fortify, Fortify, and never let them get in again.

We continue still between Hawk and Buzzard. — Some People yet expect Commissioners, to treat with Congress, — and to offer a Chart blanc. All declare if they do not come impowered to treat with us, and grant us our Bill of Rights, in every Iota, they will hesitate no longer.

I wish I could enter into an unrefined Detail — But I dare not. I think we shall do pretty well; the Conventions are now about meeting every where, and we expect assistance from them.

In great Haste,
Adieu.

Pray let us know how much Powder you have furnished to the Continental Army, from the Magazines of the Province, or of Town Stocks. Because if we knew how much, we would endeavour to have it reimbursed to you. We must get those Town Stocks replaced, and the Colonial Magazine refurnished.

Indorsed, — "Hon^{ble} J. ADAMS,
April 2^d 1776."

General Greene to Governor Jefferson.

CAMP ON PEDEE, January 1st, 1781.

SIR, — This will be handed your Excellency by Cap^t Watts, who is ordered to Virginia to recruit for the first Regiment of Light Dragoons. Cavalry is of great importance to the service in this department, and I must beg your Excellency to give every aid in your power, to fill the Regiment as soon as possible, and that immediate measures may be taken for compleating the complement of horse required of your State for the first and third Regiments. It will promote the service and give great security to the Army, if all the Dragoons are picked men, and natives of America; as foreigners frequently desert, and give intelligence to the Enemy in an unfavorable moment, and generally carry off with them a very valuable horse with all the accoutrements. For these and many other reasons which might be mentioned, I am clearly of opinion that none but natives ought to be in the Cavalry, and even those ought to be of the better order of men, as so much frequently depends upon the information of a single dragoon.

I persuade myself this business is of such importance, as this Army is very weak in Cavalry and the enemy greatly reinforced, that your Excellency will give the business all the dispatch that the nature of it will admit.

Col. White will furnish your Excellency with a return of the strength of the Regiment. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's Most Obed^t Humble Serv
NATH. GREENE.

His Excellency Gov^r JEFFERSON.

Suitable acknowledgments were ordered for these gifts.

The Cabinet-keeper, Mr. DENNY, from the Committee appointed at the last meeting to report to the Society on the pictures, maps, &c., relating specially to the local history of Boston, made a brief report; namely, That a meeting of the Committee was held on the 7th inst. at which the following votes were passed: —

Voted, That the Chairman and Mr. Whitmore prepare a list of articles, now in the possession of the Society, which, it is thought, should be transferred to another room where they can be brought together.

Voted, That the Committee ask for authority to petition the City Government for the use of a room for this purpose in the City Hall.

Among the articles indicated by the Committee as desirable to be removed to such a room, if procured, are the following: —

Royal Arms which formerly hung in front of the "Province House."

Capital of one of the columns of the house of Gov. Hutchinson.

Fifth-of-March engraving.

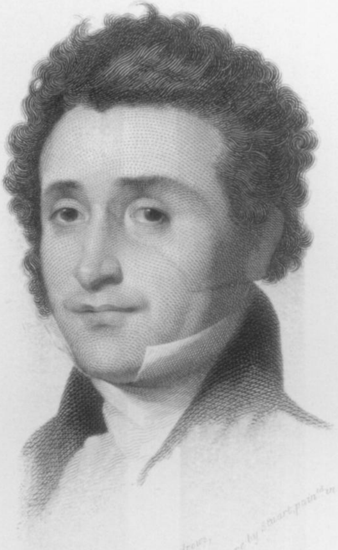
Tea, thrown into Boston Harbor, in December, 1773.

Types used by Franklin.

No motion was made in reference to the above report, and therefore no action was taken by the Society.

Richard Henry Major, Esq., F.S.A., of the British Museum, was elected a Corresponding Member.

DR. ELLIS announced the Memoir of Jared Sparks as ready for publication.



1855, Engraved by J. Andrews,
from an unfinished picture by Stuart, pain^{td} in 1828

Jared Sparks

MEMOIR

OF

JARED SPARKS, LL.D.

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS.

The preparation of the following Memoir of our late Vice-President and most distinguished associate has been to the writer a grateful labor of respect and affection. The very moderate conditions and the limited treatment which the usage of the Society prescribes for memorials of its deceased members, offer alike facilities and embarrassments when the subject of such a tribute was himself eminent, great, and good; when he had performed large and valuable labors, and gained a wide fame. Jared Sparks is entitled to a full biography. The service which he performed for so many others, who in public or private life had won distinction, or added to the wealth, the wisdom, and the happiness of humanity, might indeed secure for him, indirectly, a record on the historic page. But the story of his own career; the qualities of his character, illustrating so many noble virtues; the stations which he filled with ability, fidelity, and honor; the range of subjects covered by his investigations for literary, religious, biographical, and historical productions; his intercourse, acquaintance, and correspondence with eminent persons, and the example and influence which he has left for the guidance and encouragement of all who are benefited by the well-filled round of his years, — all these elements of interest and grounds of commemoration have provided abundant materials for an elaborate exposition of his career, and established his claim to it.

Such a biography of Dr. Sparks, whenever and by whomsoever it may be prepared, if consistent with his own character and course, will be a solid and severely simple rehearsal of a life and a career of an eminently laborious sort. He was neither a poet nor an enthusiast. He had no skill in fine writing. His pages are seldom kindled with any glow of fervor, or ornamented with any peculiar arts of rhetoric or wealth of imagination. He was not a man of theories. He might have easily won, as he certainly would have filled with conspicuous ability, and with a rare nobleness of integrity, the highest political offices. But these had no attractions for him. The simple, modest, and quiet qualities of his nature, and the personal habits which he cultivated as most favorable to the chosen work of his life, were happily consistent with all the occasions and positions which called him from the privacy of his study into larger intercourse with the world. Even the variety of the tasks which he performed, and the sphere and places of his professional employments, were not of a sort, or were not sufficient, to require of him any large versatility of talents or much change of habits. The work to which he chiefly gave himself was of his own choice, congenial, and worthy of the painstaking research, industry, and judicial method of treatment which his own mental and moral constitution fitted him to devote to it. With all his voluminous papers in hand, in his own strong characteristic chirography, his biographer will have an engaging and an exacting task.

Leaving, then, to the biographer of Dr. Sparks the appropriate and responsible work which the subject will require, the writer of these pages gives himself to an easier task, largely relieved of responsibility, and for the most part suggestive only of pleasure. The Historical Society asks a memorial, not a biography. The writing of it seems substantially like the preparation of a prefatory sketch to the historical department of American literature, introducing to the reader that one laborious and faithful scholar and investigator who holds a relation to it in which he will probably always remain without a superior. The following pages must be mainly conformed to this intent; and, though the writer is well aware that the other attractions of his subject will lead him often from the one thread of narration prescribed for him, he means still to be sure that he is following it. Recognizing most heartily and gratefully the personal qualities which made Dr. Sparks so beloved, honored, and revered by all who knew him, he must be spoken of and traced here through a long life of quiet literary toil, as he heaped around him the volumes which are his best memorial. The school-room, the academic hall, the pastor's study, and the preparation of a series of household libraries, are the places and the occupations through which we are to trace him. The members of our Society will remember that when, on the evening of April 3, 1866, within three weeks after his decease, for the third time only yielding the rule of caution which forbids the lighting of our halls, — Prescott and Everett having furnished the occasions for the previous breaches of that rule, — we met under the fresh burden of our sorrow, his noble presence was represented to us by an admirable bust,* and that upon the table were spread more than an hundred volumes, chiefly in octavo, the fruits of his original or editorial labors. Of the man, the mind, and the life, whose substantial accomplishments were thus silently addressing us then, the following pages will offer quite a different reminder.

Jared Sparks was born May 10, 1789, in the town of Willington, on Willimantic River, Tolland County, Conn. That inland town, in the northern part of the State, and thus removed from the salt-water margin, was a quiet, rural spot, with its farms and mill-streams, the scenes of hard labor and of the homes of a simple, frugal people. It offered, like all New-England towns, the opportunities of a rudimentary education for the children born in it; and if any of those children felt the craving, and had the capacity, for more of culture or a wider range than it could furnish, there were hard roads leading from it in various directions. It was, however, by the good use of such advantages as the quiet place of his birth afforded him, and by winning the respect and encouragement of its leading inhabitants, that young Sparks was set forward in the way of higher privileges. His mother, whose maiden name was Eleanor Orcutt, though living in humble circumstances, amid straits and conditions unfavorable to intellectual culture, was fond of books, and, though she seems to have been marked by some peculiarities of temperament, had a strongly endowed and active mind. In her later years she was for some time an inmate of her son's home, while he was residing in Cambridge in 1834. She died in Willington, May 2, 1843. Her mother, Bethiah Parker, is reported to have been not only addicted to much reading, but also given to writing her own musings and thinkings, sometimes in a prophetical strain, in prose and verse. Though young Sparks had no relations able to foster the promise or to contribute to the first training of his intellect in his childhood, he found himself able and willing in his mature years to render much substantial service to his nearest of kin. A childless sister of his mother, Mrs. Ebenezer Eldredge, and her husband, seem to have shared largely in the oversight of his early years, and to have had him with them at intervals at their home, in Washington County, N.Y.

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* A cast from a marble bust, by Hiram Powers, "presented to Harvard College by the students under his Presidency."

He began very early to use his pen for recording dates and events of interest to himself. It appears from his papers that before he was five years old he was a pupil, and that from 1796, on to 1804, he was at school a few weeks in each year under the various teachers provided in the district. After the last-named date his privileges of this kind were even more fragmentary and irregular, till the period of his pupilage blends with his undertaking the trade of a carpenter, and becoming a district-school teacher himself. It may be worth while to repeat here what he thought worthy of a minutely accurate record. From the fifth to the tenth year of his age he was at school about five months in a year; from the tenth to the sixteenth, two months in each year. At the age of sixteen, doubtless having in view the immediate turning of his acquisitions to account, he spent four months as a pupil. Thus he enjoyed for forty months, before he had completed his twentieth year, those opportunities in the diligent use of which he laid the foundation for his subsequent thorough and varied scholarship. The selectmen of the neighboring town of Tolland were glad to give him congenial occupation in one of their own district schools, and the leisure hours which he found after doing his duty here, and also industriously gaining what little he could from his handicraft, were spent in his favorite study of mathematics and the practical principles of astronomy. He closed his school in March, 1809, and put himself under the instruction of the minister of Willington, the Rev. Hubbell Loomis, afterwards the head of Shurtleff College, at Altoona, Ill. This kind and judicious friend — still living at a very advanced age — undertook to aid his pupil in the mathematics; the compensation agreed upon being one dollar a week. To eke out his funds, young Sparks shingled his barn for ten dollars. The pupil had already borrowed of a sailor a book on Navigation. His slender purse, of course, was furnished from his school-keeping.

It was while the subject of this Memoir was thus seeking by bodily labor to secure intellectual acquisitions, that a circumstance occurred which is regarded as the critical turning-point for deciding the subsequent direction of his life. The Rev. Abiel Abbot, pastor of the First Church in the neighboring town of Coventry, Conn., and cousin of the famous and revered Dr. Benjamin Abbot, Principal of Phillips Academy at Exeter, N.H., was at that time engaged with his brother-ministers in one of those local religious controversies which have so frequently excited, quickened, and gradually liberalized the minds of the people of New England. Young Sparks was in the very centre of the strife and the discussion caused by this controversy; and the views and profession which he afterwards adopted indicate that he must have taken a lively interest in it, and may possibly have received from it impressions and convictions of prime influence on his own religious opinions. According to the standard of the consociated Churches of Connecticut, which was Calvinistic and Trinitarian, Mr. Abbot was pronounced "heretical," as he certainly was, being in unconcealed sympathy with a class of divines then numerous in Massachusetts, but strongly opposed in Connecticut. It appeared that the Church body or communicants in his parish, under the prompting or encouragement of some of the consociated pastors, felt bound to discipline him for his heresies, and to remove him from his office; while a vote of the parishioners, that is, of the society at large, by whom he was warmly loved and highly esteemed for his virtues, indicated a desire that he should remain as their minister. The controversy, which soon after resulted in the displacement of Mr. Abbot, was in progress when he was one day making a brotherly visit to his neighbor, the Rev. Mr. Loomis. Though we may well imagine what was to them the more engrossing interest of their interview, an episode in the visit proved of high advantage to young Sparks. He was called in by Mr. Loomis, that Mr. Abbot might hear the young carpenter translate a passage from Virgil. Struck by the promise and attainments of the scholar, who was reading Virgil at the rate of two hundred lines a day, eight weeks after he had begun the study of Latin, and being informed of his strong desire for advancement in pursuits so congenial to him, but which his circumstances seemed to preclude, the visitor happily had a resource to suggest which proved available. He knew that provision had been made in his cousin's academy at Exeter, for furnishing free tuition and other helps for meritorious students; and he promised to use his influence to obtain assistance there for one who seemed so worthy of the patronage. His application was successful. An arrangement was made by which the pupil, relying on his own strong limbs, should go on foot to Exeter, — a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, — which he accomplished by leaving Willington on the 4th of September, 1809, and reaching his destination on the 7th. Mr. Abbot and his wife being about to visit Exeter, near the same time, travelled in their own chaise, carrying Sparks's trunk, doubtless a miscellaneous repository, with more of other things in it than of clothing, suspended from the axle. Mr. Loomis had suggested to the young scholar that the advantages which he was seeking justified him in incurring a small debt. But debt was a fearful word to Mr. Sparks, and it was with reluctance that he borrowed a small sum from Mr. Loomis as he started for Exeter.

The writer of these pages recalls vividly and pleasantly a circumstance illustrating the life-long gratitude of Mr. Sparks to Mr. Abbot. During his presidency of the college, and after his retirement from it, I was in the habit, after the performance of certain official duties at Cambridge, of occasionally calling at his door on a pleasant afternoon, and inviting him to a drive around the neighborhood. If I had no special direction in view, I would leave the choice to him. More than once he said, "If you have no choice, I should prefer, above all things, to call on good old Dr. Abbot." He was then living in extreme old age with his grandson, the late Rev. Samuel Abbot Smith, minister of the First Church in West Cambridge, now Arlington. The venerable divine had served a long professional course in two parishes after his removal from Coventry. On the way, Mr. Sparks said of him, "To that venerable and dear old man I owe more than to any of the many good friends I have had all my life." He then related the circumstances just mentioned. It was a delightful scene to witness their mutual greetings, and to think of their former relations.

Exeter has been the training-school of a large number of the scholars of New England during the last two generations, affording them preparation for college. Webster, Cass, Buckminster, and the Everetts have been only more conspicuous among a multitude of its distinguished pupils who are no longer living. Sparks reached there on the same day with his life-long friend, Palfrey. Bancroft joined them in 1811. But, while he shared the privileges of the academy, Sparks's circumstances compelled him to use the vacations, and even to encroach on term-time, to obtain a slight but needful emolument from teaching. From the 11th of December, 1810, to the 8th of March, 1811, when he returned to Exeter, he was engaged in a school at Rochester, N.H. Indeed, as it had been in the school-years of his childhood, and was in his course at Exeter, so, as we shall see, after he had entered college, a good part, perhaps the best part, of his own training and acquisitions was attained through the stimulus of a necessity to turn them at once to account, as the condition of his own continued progress. He certainly had a fair opportunity to test the assertion, so reasonable in itself, that no one learns to the best purpose unless with a view to impart, with the most facility and satisfaction to himself, whatever he knows.

On the 26th of August, 1811, Mr. Sparks went to Cambridge and passed his examination for admission to Harvard College. He was then in his twenty-third year, an age which at that period the large majority of the students had not reached even when they had passed through the course, and which some, like Buckminster and Edward Everett, fell short of, after they had completed professional studies consequent upon their graduation, and had begun their public career. But this maturity of years at the entrance upon his college course was fully compensated to the student by assuring to him a more just appreciation of his opportunities, and a more diligent improvement of them, than generally attend the youthfulness of those who have a much earlier start.

Mr. Sparks spent the vacation following his admission to college, in Connecticut, encroaching a week on term-time, as he makes record of, and entering upon his studies September 25. He was occasionally a sufferer then, as he was to a degree through his whole subsequent life, from ill-health in forms which, when not absolutely incapacitating him for literary labor, made application and composition difficult, and had upon him a depressing influence. He found from the first, and always, a most devoted and helpful friend in President Kirkland, whose benignant beauty and grace of feature, and whose lovable qualities of character, won the warm affections alike of those of his pupils who shared the benefits of his sound wisdom, or felt the influence of his gentle discipline. It seems to those of us who saw Dr. Kirkland only in the milder radiance of his declining days, and know of his administration only through the relations and fond memories of those whose undergraduate and professional course he fostered, that he stands on the roll of college Presidents as the most beloved and revered. Childless himself, he was a father in interest and affection to all who came under his mild control. His personal qualities and the love which attended him are now becoming traditions in the college halls. Any memorial of Mr. Sparks which omitted a hearty recognition of his obligation and gratitude to President Kirkland, would pain him more than an oversight which should leave some of his own highest services unnoticed.

There were many others then associated in the government and instruction of the college in intercourse with whom Mr. Sparks, because of his own ripe years and gravity of character, would enjoy more familiarity, and receive a more direct benefit, than would accrue to younger or less earnest students. Ware, Norton, Hedge, McKean, Willard, Everett, Farrar, and Peck then composed a large part of the working force of the college.

Each of them did service honorably estimated there, and effective and remembered through the whole community.*

Mr. Sparks received the benefit of a scholarship founded within half a century after the birth of the college, by William Pennoyer, an English merchant. His class graduating sixty-six members, and comprising a larger number than any class that had preceded it, was also, as a whole, distinguished for ability and for devotion to study. In running the eye over the list in the Catalogue, we meet the names of very many honored and able in every sphere of influence, as members of Congress, professors of colleges, and as eminent in law, medicine, theology, and literature. Mr. Sparks is said to have stood at the head in mathematics, with a very high general rank. But he was not by any means to enjoy a continuous period of four years' residence and study, broken only by vacations. Hardly even half of the college term-time found him in his place in the class. He had to earn, for the most part, that by which he lived, and to take his text-books and borrowed volumes with him, as he went off at intervals in vacations and in term-time, to ply his abilities as a teacher. From the 17th of December, 1811, to the 26th of February, 1812, when he returned to college, he taught a country school in Bolton, Mass. March 20, 1812, he left Cambridge again for a longer absence, and at what he felt to be a serious sacrifice. He went to accept a situation offered to him, as private tutor in the family of Mark Pringle, Esq., at Havre de Grace, Maryland. Here he remained at his work fifteen months, a special indulgence having been extended to him through the influence of President Kirkland. The following pleasant incident is related by our associate, the Rev. Dr. Newell, of Cambridge, pastor of Dr. Sparks, in a memorial discourse preached by him March 18, 1866: —

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* Some very pleasant and interesting sketches of college membership, life, and discipline, during Mr. Sparks's course, as well as much information about the literary enterprises in which he was soon to have a share, and in which he was to become so conspicuous a leader, may be found in a publication, prepared in his old age, by Professor Sidney Willard, entitled, " Memories of Youth and Manhood. By Sidney Willard." Cambridge: John Bartlett, 1855. 2 vols. 12mo.

"Soon after his arrival at Havre de Grace, while he was staying at the public-house in that place, in a dejected state of mind, occasioned by some disappointment of his expectations * and the loneliness of his situation, among people of a quite different spirit and training from his own, two gentlemen, travellers on their way to Washington, came to the inn. A beautiful island in the Susquehanna attracted their attention, and one of them procured a boat, and invited Mr. Sparks, whom they had met on the piazza, a stranger to them both, to accompany him to the place. After a delightful excursion, and a walk around the island, intensely enjoyed by Mr. Sparks in the pleasant society and conversation of the new-comer, who treated him with double cordiality on finding that the young man was a student of Harvard, as he was himself a graduate of the college, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, then representative in Congress, as the stranger proved to be, returned to the inn, and introduced Mr. Sparks to his companion, the Rev. Dr. Channing. The interview gave the forlorn and struggling student new life and spirit. Dr. Channing, who had himself had a similar experience in teaching in Virginia, refreshed and strengthened him by words of sympathy, counsel, and good cheer. And his new friends were his warm friends ever after. The imagination dwells with interest on the picture of this first meeting of his, at the Southern inn, on the road to Baltimore and Washington, with those two distinguished men, little dreaming of the after-events which were to connect them so intimately with the youthful scholar, the one as the famous preacher of his ordination sermon, the other as his predecessor in the Presidency of Harvard University, as well as his neighbor and associate for many years in Cambridge, where Mr. Sparks lived and died, in the street called by the name of his honored friend."

That Mr. Sparks turned the long period of his constrained absence from Cambridge as a domestic tutor to good account, is to be inferred from the use to which he evidently improved his opportunities here, and soon after in Baltimore, in extending the range of his acquaintanceship with men, and in enlarging

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* Of a large part of the salary which he and his friends understood that he was to receive.

his field of observation, study, and interest. His own intimate friends, after he had reached middle life, were generally much impressed by his entire freedom from provincialism and sectionalism. He soon rid himself of what is called New-England narrowness, with the limitations which it implies. The breadth of mind and the nationality of view which were so marked in him, had been acquired by his incidental intercourse with people in the middle and southern portions of the country. He availed himself of the most transient chances of a winter journey, or of a summer sojourn at a watering-place, to open conversations or to draw out the characteristic qualities of representative persons which would add to his general or special knowledge. It is observable from his own private, miscellaneous papers, in which he set down in fragmentary or suggestive hints the subjects on which he might, at some time, choose to write, that his interest extended over a very wide field. When, afterwards, he set himself to elaborate one or another of the subjects of biography or of history which he so thoroughly wrought, he seems to have known at the start what materials there were, and in what directions he was to look for them. This knowledge extended in many cases to the names of persons or families having in their keeping the papers he would need. When, as in the preparation of his "Library of American Biography," he called in the aid of other writers, reserving to himself only an editorial responsibility, his correspondence with his contributors would direct their attention and investigation to points which might not otherwise have occurred to them. Though these remarks may seem in anticipation of comment on pursuits not yet engaged in by Mr. Sparks, they are not irrelevant as connected with his residence at Havre de Grace while yet an undergraduate. He was there in training for his future special work, and made what might otherwise have been an irksome absence from more congenial scenes, to yield him discipline and advantages. He had even a little military experience there. When Admiral Cockburn assaulted, fired, and plundered the town, May 3, 1813, Mr. Sparks did duty as a private in the Maryland militia. He was therefore well qualified as an eye-witness of what then took place, to write, as he afterwards did,* a trustworthy account of transactions which had been erroneously related in some published statements. At the close of his engagement at Havre de Grace, he returned to Cambridge, and graduated with his class, in high honor, in 1815. He had chosen for a profession the Christian ministry, and his studies were directed with reference to it. But still he had to teach, in order that he might learn. By the influence of friends and patrons, he was led to undertake a private school in the beautiful town of Lancaster, Mass., planted in one of the loveliest curves of the valley of the Nashua, and shading with its graceful elms the homes of many refined, intelligent, and prosperous families. With the honored and revered Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., for nearly half a century the sole pastor of the only church there, a divine of the old-school graces of true piety, urbanity, and personal dignity, Mr. Sparks found most hearty companionship. Dr. Thayer also directed the student's inquiries in his theological culture.

The writer of this Memoir has the great privilege of introducing here the substance of a letter which his own solicitation drew from his esteemed friend, the Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, late pastor of the First Church in Beverly, a son of Dr. Thayer, and a pupil in Mr. Sparks's school.

BOSTON, June 14, 1867.

REV. DR. ELLIS.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am happy to comply with your request, that I would furnish you with my own or others' recollections of the connections and associations of the revered and beloved President Sparks, with my native place, Lancaster, Mass. It is, nevertheless, a melancholy pleasure I take in so doing; for I have never known the man toward whom, next to my real father, I have cherished more of filial feeling than toward him. I miss, more and more, the sight of his serene, cheerful, earnest, intellectual, and spiritual countenance, and the genial, cordial, almost parental, greetings which, from my early youth, he ever gave me as a pupil and friend.

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* In the "North-American Review" for July, 1817.

In the year 1815, several gentlemen of Lancaster and the neighboring town of Bolton, where Mr. Sparks had previously taught, with much acceptance, a district school, engaged him to conduct a private one for boys; which he entered upon a few months before his graduating, and continued in till called to a tutorship at Cambridge. From his first entrance to the school-room, his commanding presence secured for him the respect of his pupils, and he soon won their confidence and affection. His discipline was truly paternal. He governed well, yet with a happy faculty of not seeming to govern. Without any particular fondness for the duties of instruction, being in fact too much possessed with a desire of acquiring knowledge, to be quite content with imparting its earlier and simpler lessons, still he was decidedly successful as a teacher. Especially did he, by both precept and his own bright example, inspire the youths under his charge with the love of study for itself and its fruits, and animate them to the diligent and conscientious use of their talents and privileges. Though but a year and a quarter in the school, he placed it on a foundation which, built upon by such masters and scholars, successively, as Proctor, Emerson, Miles, Wood, and Fletcher, has made it the rich means of early training to many who, in Church and State, in the professions, in art, and in the walks of business, have attained distinction and usefulness.

Then, as always, he was remarkable for improvement of time, gathering up the fragments of it which are so frequently wasted. During school hours, in the intervals between recitations, or the times of recess, or any unoccupied space, he would usually be engaged with book or pen, or in deep meditation. At that period he was not only occupied much in merely literary pursuits and contributing to periodicals of the day, but took strong interest in theological subjects. I remember being deeply interested in consultations and discussions at my home, respecting them, in which he bore an active part, though myself at that time too young to appreciate or comprehend them. Notwithstanding he was then engrossed by labor and study, he yet found opportunity to mingle in scenes gay as well as grave. He joined the village assemblies; and, while he associated in the evening with some who came under his rule by day, such was his discretion and perfect propriety of demeanor, that he made no compromise of his dignity or influence. With several families, constituting a very intelligent, refined, and delightful society, he was on intimate terms, and had much social enjoyment; preserving with them a life-long intimacy, that was mutually and highly valued. His associations with Lancaster, with its people and scenery, and with those who had been his pupils (whom he familiarly called his boys), were topics he recurred to often and with evident gratification. Like Dr. Channing, with whose name his, ever since the great Baltimore sermon was delivered, has been indissolubly connected, and who also, in his college days, was a teacher at Lancaster, he delighted to revisit that charming valley, and find refreshment, in its quiet air and beautiful scenes, for both body and mind. The last summer of his life, he visited my brother's family there; and, during his visit, never tired of going over old walks and drives, conversing of friends living and gone, looking up former acquaintances and pupils in that and the neighboring towns; and he pointed, as he stood in his antiquated school-room, — which he was much pleased with finding in existence, though now converted to other uses, — to the places where several of his scholars were seated, as being freshly remembered. He repeatedly alluded afterwards to the days he thus passed, as having afforded him great enjoyment.

When I first saw and came under the instruction of Mr. Sparks, I was only in my tenth year, and therefore could claim small title to just judgment of men or things. Yet I confess, that, after the long time that has since elapsed, I have known no person respecting whom my first impressions and anticipations less required to be revised or altered. Little precocity, even then, was requisite to recognize that majestic presence, that manly bearing, those noble features showing the unmistakable stamp of nature's nobility, that aspect at once intelligent and benignant; the soul, frank, generous, upright and true; simplicity and singleness of mind, feeling, and purpose; genuine consistency that might be expected to, as it did, pervade his entire life, — the consistency of unswerving loyalty to principle and right; a balance, moreover, of powers and qualities by which he was formed to be one of the pillars on which the best interests of human society might safely rest, and which peculiarly fitted him for his chief work of apprehending and illustrating the life and character of Washington, making it, in a degree, a reflection of his own consciousness, and, more, what it really was, a labor of love.

Gladly, lovingly, would we — and when I say *we*, how many are included! — have retained him among us much longer. . . .

Mention has already been made of Mr. Sparks's proficiency and eminence, during his college course, in the study of mathematics. In his senior year he had gained the Bowdoin Prize for a Dissertation on the Physical Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton. This dissertation was, at the time, regarded as exhibiting extraordinary ability and powers of apprehending and judging. It was long referred to as a college exercise, which, while it won high honor for its writer, set a high mark for subsequent competitors. Mr. Sparks was, therefore, very naturally recalled to the college, when there was a vacant place for him, in 1817, as Tutor in Geometry, Astronomy, and Natural Philosophy. This service would not, however, seem to have been the preference dictated by his own visions and schemings for the immediate trial of his manhood. He had been strongly interested, through Ledyard's and Parks's enterprises, in the objects of African exploration. While he was teaching at Lancaster, he had been in negotiation with a society in England for devoting himself to that work. But the scheme failed; not, however, from any backwardness of his. Among his papers is an inclosure inscribed, "Plan of a Tour in Africa, 1816." It contains the following letter, addressed to his friend Joseph G. Cogswell, before its date a Tutor, and afterwards Librarian and Professor in Harvard College, as also Librarian of the Astor Library, New York: —

CAMBRIDGE, 1816.

DEAR SIR, — My plan is, under the auspices of the African Society, to go into Africa at Tetuan, or Mogadore, to spend some little time in Morocco, and to start with a caravan at Taffilet or some other place, to cross the great desert to Tombucto; to remain a year in Tombucto, if this is the *great city*; to learn as much as possible of its manners, customs, political institutions, &c., and also of the trade which is carried on with it, from various parts, and such other information as can be obtained from the respective countries. This will not be difficult, as these traders will generally understand Arabic.

From Tombucto to go down the river Niger to its *mouth*, wherever it may be, and which is probably a large lake in the interior. To call at Boussa by the way. After leaving the Niger, to proceed, if possible, to the Cape of Good Hope, otherwise to Abyssinia, or through Darfur to Egypt, or through Yezzar to the Mediterranean, or to Benin, or Loango, or Congo, or to the South-eastern Coast of Africa, or to any place, in fact, which may be thought expedient and practicable.

To ascertain as many points in Geography, and gain as much knowledge of natural history as possible. JARED SPARKS.

Returning thus to the ever-attractive scenes and fellowships of the college, at the age of twenty-eight, while performing his academic work Mr. Sparks continued with special devotion his theological studies. He entered upon his public, professional, and literary career, at a very critical and interesting period in the development of that local culture, and that aiming for a higher standard in learning and a broader field for scholarly accomplishment, which marked the very date of his tutorship. The country had previously had very little of what we now call scholarship or elaborate literature. There had been, from its settlement, a few very splendid exceptions, in the cases of a short list of philosophers, divines, historical students, and classical scholars, to a general demand and supply of a very moderate and ordinary intellectual culture. There was then a lack, through the whole country, both of public and of private libraries. In a few of those collections which have since been gathered, are found, in more or less fragmentary and incomplete shapes, a series of bound pamphlets, dating from near the close of the last century, the tentative, and, for the most part, abortive, beginnings of what we call our periodical literature. Very many of these, too, like the twelve volumes of "The Analectic Magazine," which appeared as a monthly, from 1813 to 1818, and marked an advanced stage of demand and supply, were very largely made up of selections from foreign reviews and magazines. The hope and promise with which each successive enterprise had been entered upon, soon resulted in failure, and the very moderate success attained by the most popular of them proved equally the need of a more extended literary appetite and of a more skilfully trained company of scholars and writers to stimulate, while they supplied it. A little circle of highly cultivated and zealous scholars in Boston and Cambridge had formed the Anthology Club, and had issued, almost at their own charges, several volumes of "The Anthology," containing papers worthy of being read, for their scholarship, taste, and critical skill, at the present day. If the genial spirits engaged in such a brotherly intimacy as tradition and record report to us characterized the relations of that club, could catch from hitherwards a glimpse of all that came from their doings, doubtless that noble and richly endowed institution, "The Boston Athenæum," which was founded by the Anthologists, would stand to them as a consummation of their hope. "The North-American Review" was substantially a revival of the "Anthology," receiving as it did, in its early pages and in its editorial oversight, the same gratuitous service from some who had wrought for its predecessor. Mr. Sparks, who was afterwards to be its proprietor and editor for six years, and to give it a repute on which it lived during intervals of languishing in other hands, was its temporary editor from May, 1817, to March, 1818. It then appeared six times in a year.*

In another and a far more important and serious matter, marking the opening of his professional career, Mr. Sparks came upon a critical period, was drawn into a very peculiar fellowship, and did the work of a most earnest and effective servant. We are now to follow him to his entrance upon the Christian ministry at Baltimore. In a church record-book begun by him in that city, I have found very interesting and characteristic particulars of the nature, method, and fruits of that short but laborious period of his life, during which he was preacher and pastor, controversialist, and, something much better, in the service of religious truth. Before that record was opened, Mr. Sparks may claim of his memorialist a brief reference to the time, the circumstances, and the associates that gave a distinct, though, perhaps, it should be added, but a temporary and transient, character or quality to the beginning and the tenor of his work in the ministry.

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* Mr. Sparks wrote in the "Review," for 1817, in Vol. IV., the article on the "Augustan Age of Italian Literature"; in Vol. V., the articles on the "Conflagration of Havre de Grace," on the "Narrative of Robert Adams," on "Travels in Africa," and on "Riley's Narrative"; for 1818, in Vol. VI., the article on "Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry"; also various Literary and Miscellaneous Notices in these volumes. In 1821, Vol. XIII., he wrote an article on the "Appropriation of Public Lands for Schools."

Mr. Sparks, while at Cambridge and in its neighborhood, belonged to quite a considerable group or fellowship of young men of the highest intellectual and scholarly qualities, and with the noblest impulses caught from a new element of religious influence then working with great intensity in this immediate community. They were devoting themselves to the studies of the sacred profession, with new helps of classical culture, and the quickening inspiration of a serious modification of the prevailing Christian creed. There was then a fashion — it would be more true to say a passion — among the young men of genius, ambition, and high aims, who had been drawn into intimate friendship in the college, to prepare themselves for the ministry. The zeal of the gifted Buckminster in promoting a new interest in Biblical studies, and in classical scholarship as helpful thereto, and the establishment of Mr. Dexter's Lectureship foundation in the college for fostering Scripture criticism, so ably filled by Prof. Norton, were promptings whose inspiration was felt even by many of the most cultivated laymen of the period. Buckminster, Channing, and others had introduced also a new style and method of sermonizing. Pulpit services in the neighborhood had become vitalized. The lethargic and unresponsive state of feeling under which the ministrations of the clergy had for half a century been received, had yielded to a state of high-raised interest, often amounting to enthusiasm. Those who soon, as a class, came to be designated as preachers of Unitarianism, or liberal views of the religion of Jesus Christ, were in general disposed, without provoking controversy, to take for granted a modification of the belief and convictions of the community, and to adapt their ministrations to a re-adjusted creed. But they were soon made aware that this quiet proceeding of theirs would appear to some not in sympathy with them as disingenuous and treacherous. They had therefore to furnish themselves for the needful work of vindicating their own sincerity, for expounding and maintaining their own opinions, and for certifying, if they could do so, their loyalty and consistency as Protestant Christians. More than sufficient has been written about the imbittered controversial results of this period, and under this aspect it does not invite us. But, apart from its controversial elements, that period in our local development will have much literary and biographical interest whenever those who have given to it an historic distinctness are themselves the subjects of a friendly memorial. It would be an engaging and profitable digression, if this were the fit place for it, to enter into some details suggested by the general statement just made. That, however, must be left to be done, if it ever be done, by the only competent and the affectionate depositaries of what remains of living memory, with the few survivors of a choice circle, helped by the drawing forth from private cabinets of the abundant and confidential correspondence of its members. Those friends have been widely parted, both in life and in death; but those who are gone were never alienated while they lived; the bond of intellectual and religious sympathy between them was never severed, nor did a single one of those friends ever part with that distinctive belief, so far as it was distinctive, which they had once adopted, as scholars and as Christians. That company embraced Everett, the Eliots, Norton, Sparks, Palfrey, Gilman, the Wares, Bancroft, and many whose names have not since been so publicly famed and honored as theirs. All of them pursued a course of theological study under aims and methods which then had novelty as well as definiteness of purpose. Some of them filled the pulpit and pastoral relations in positions of the highest distinction, so eminently, too, as to set a standard not maintained or reached by the majority of those who have followed them. Those of them who stopped short of actual consecration, by form and vow, to the sacred office, and turned aside to other pursuits, kept the spirit and the sympathy of their early purpose, and have done work perhaps of a less professional and a more diffusive good than has been effected by the pulpit in these later years. But many of that circle, including those who still live, as well as those who have gone, did sooner or later turn aside from their first professional purpose or work. Without abandoning the scholar's field or zeal, or falling short of the elevation or sanctity associated with the ministerial profession, they left the pulpit to act upon their age in other walks of lettered or political life, and to perform conspicuous services.

Why that special class of distinguished and ambitious scholars, just at that time, were thus attracted to, and then withdrawn from, the clerical profession, would furnish an interesting question, especially to a literary and religious brotherhood in this immediate neighborhood. But while a common influence from the atmosphere of the place where they were studying, and a critical period in the development of opinion, and a peculiar quality in their friendship and style of intercourse, might readily be made to account for their sympathetic interest in adopting the same occupation, a large variety of circumstances and influences, personal and particular, would need to be recognized as leading them one by one, and most of them at last, into what are called secular callings. This special matter, certainly to those for whom it has interest at all, would be the more inviting because of the local and temporary character of the agencies then working, and of the effects or results reached by them. What service they rendered, at least temporarily, to their first chosen object in life, may be measured by the literary and critical work they performed, and by the aims which guided them in the other fields to which they were attracted or in which they labored. The history of that group of Christian students, drawn together and then scattered, is almost, if not absolutely, unique in its substance and interest. There has been no continuation, no reproduction, as yet, of the same phenomena in their own or in any other religious fellowship among us. The fields in which useful and profitable applications of high talent and noble purposes have found expansion in the last half-century, and the changed conditions of the Christian ministry, will account, at least partially, for the fact just recognized.

A memorial of Mr. Sparks which did not allow some such reference as has thus been made to the aims and the companionship which influenced his first choice of a profession, would fail in the direction of a fair appreciation, not only of a period and a state of feeling in the course of his life which was of itself marked with a profoundly devout and serious earnestness of purpose, but also of the convictions which he held through the remainder of his career. Without entering into details, which would be out of place here, it may be said, in general, that the enthusiasm and the sober earnestness of that group of scholarly friends which included Mr. Sparks, were quickened by an ardent and intelligent conviction, that Christian studies pursued with a larger freedom, a broader range, and a more practical aim, with some new aids from an approved apparatus of text-books, would result in modifying the tenets of the Christian creed as then traditionally and popularly received, though with but a languid assent and an indifferent feeling by large classes of the community; would win minds alienated from the existing beliefs, and prompt to new zeal in works and objects congenial with the spirit of the Christian religion. Of Mr. Sparks's special relation to, and co-operative labor in, his religious fellowship, this remark is to be made with emphasis, that no man ever engaged in the irritating strife of religious controversy with less of the spirit of mere sectarianism, or more resolutely or successfully held that spirit in check by charity, magnanimity, and Christian gentleness. The conviction which he held most ardently and intelligently, and in illustration of which he planned a series of publications, was, that what stood to him as signified by the term "Liberal Christianity," represented in spirit and substance the belief and the actual opinions of a line of the most devout and thoroughly cultivated Christian men whom incidental circumstances had classed in several Christian communions, in which, with various mental reserves and allowed modifications and abatements of formulated beliefs they had been content to remain.

Mr. Sparks never regarded himself as an innovator, and if he had to accept the position, which was so positively and often with such asperity assigned to him, of a heretic, his own scholarly acquisitions enabled him to rectify the definition of the term, and to put himself by it into a good companionship. He seems to have shrunk, with much diffidence and with painful self-distrust, from the duty of the pulpit. In a private letter, dated at Cambridge, August 6, 1818, he writes, "I have finally determined on a time to preach. My present intention is to begin on the first Sunday in September, and to preach in Lancaster on the second Sunday. Something may prevent, however, and you had better not talk about it." Again, writing, Oct. 2, 1818, he says, "I assure you that preaching is a great trial to me. I speak in sober sincerity when I tell you, it is one I should hardly go through with again, could I have foreseen the anxiety and pain it would cost me. I have begun, and have only to press forward; I will do it as well as I can. The sermon which I read before the Association, Mr. H—— has heard, was obscure. The fact is, I was particularly complimented by the whole mass of ministers for its perspicuity. He is much troubled that my manuscripts are not interlined and erased as Dr. Kirkland's and Mr. Thacher's were; he says they can never be good till they are. This is certainly true; but I am sorry they should give him trouble."

A pioneer service fell to him which, while it made the severest exaction upon his intellectual abilities and resources, at the same time demanded of him the utmost prudence in speech and demeanor, the restraint of temper, and the exercise of every good quality of judgment, heart, and spirit. On the 12th of October, 1816, the people of Baltimore had been informed by an advertisement that the Rev. Dr. Freeman, minister of King's Chapel in Boston, would hold religious service on the day following, being Sunday, in a hall in the city which belonged to a private owner. The services were repeated on the next Sunday. Mr. Sparks, in measured language, describes, in the record above referred to, the intense and bitter feeling excited by the undertaking which he was soon after called to perfect, and which was initiated by this visit to Baltimore of Dr. Freeman. That gentleman was known by those to whom he was other than a stranger, as having been instituted, in 1783, as rector of the Episcopal Society, the oldest in New England, which succeeded to the use of the Royal Governor's Chapel in Boston, and as having, with his flock, abandoned some of the doctrines of the Church, to embrace Unitarianism, altering the Book of Common Prayer to conform therewith. He was thus the pastor of the first avowed Unitarian Church in America. Those who listened to him in Baltimore were, probably for the most part, in sympathy with his views. Some of them must have been very earnestly devoted to the cause of which in his preaching he was an advocate; for, under their lead, and in spite of very zealous opposition, and very passionate obloquy, a religious society was organized on the 10th of February following, and measures were taken to erect a very costly and conspicuous church edifice, which was completed, to be dedicated by Dr. Freeman, October 29, 1818.

Mr. Sparks records, that, on the 11th of August preceding, he had received an invitation to preach, as a candidate for settlement over the new society, and had been urged to come on with the gentlemen who were to take part in the dedication. The duties of his tutorship at the college prevented his compliance with the latter request, and he says he had not at that time begun to preach. It would seem that, had he been so disposed, he might have found an entrance into the ministry in a much easier position, as pastor of the Hollis-street Society in Boston. It is a curious fact that he and Dr. Channing, the two men in their fellowship who had probably the most intense aversion to disputation, and the least taste for controversy, with the lowest estimate of any good that could come from it, were set forward by circumstances on the arena of strife as chief combatants on their side. Mr. Sparks preached for the first time in Baltimore, December 20, 1818, renewing his engagement for three Sundays more. While he was fulfilling it, he received, January 21, 1819, a unanimous invitation to the pastorate, which he accepted, continuing to preach till February 15, when he started for New England, to make arrangements for his ordination. The journey to Boston, now made within twenty-four hours, was then an undertaking requiring, generally, a week, and involving fatigue, with incidents and opportunities which Mr. Sparks always turned to account, if not in any other way, to diligent reading and mental exercises.

It must have been with a profound sense of the responsibilities which he was assuming, and of the exacting nature of the labors through which he was to discharge them, that Mr. Sparks shared in the excitements of the day of his ordination, May 5, 1819, as pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. It was a memorable day in the social and religious experience of that city. Dr. Channing went from Boston, and Prof. Ware from Cambridge, in company with others known as Unitarian ministers, to take part in the exercises. Dr. Channing, not at that time so widely known, preached a discourse on the occasion, which did more than any other production of his pen to extend his repute and to make him for some considerable time afterwards the object of the most grateful commendatory fame, and of the severest religious hostility from the parties to the controversies of those days. The discourse was printed and reprinted, extolled, criticised, misrepresented, and subjected to review by able and unsympathetic pens. Its earnest but passionless and candid advocacy of opinions and convictions radically antagonistic to those of the prevailing creed of Christians of every other sect, distinguished it from the mass of controversial sermons. It has been affirmed that no pamphlet, with the single exception of a political publication, had ever up to that time been so extensively circulated, or caused so deep a sensation. Its title was, "Unitarian Christianity." The occasion of its delivery brought into close association for curiosity and for notoriety the names of Dr. Channing and Mr. Sparks; the latter just then completing his thirtieth year, and being by nine years the junior of the two. With the impulse furnished by the zeal, the curiosity, and the hostility quickened by the excitements of this occasion, Mr. Sparks entered upon a ministry, which, though it was in a few years to be brought to a close by the failure of his health, was to be an eminently devoted and faithful one, with varied labors and many fruits, some of them permanent. Some of his brethren who had attended his ordination remained for a short time after it, holding week-day and Sunday services. On the 19th of May, he performed for the first time all the duties of his place.

A few interesting facts, selected from his record, will help us to trace him in his work and experience. Being as yet unmarried, he found a most delightful home in the family of one of his parishioners, in which he enjoyed a hearty welcome and made himself greatly beloved. In the hot weather of the summer following, he took a vacation of five weeks, which he spent in a tour through Maryland, Western Virginia, Pennsylvania, and a visit to Bath, Bedford, and York Springs. In this, as in other excursions, he made many agreeable and interesting friendships with prominent persons, from a wide circle of country, and the intercourse was of mutual service to the two parties.

Soon after returning to his work, he records, in very calm and chastened language, some exhibitions of the obloquy, opposition, and misrepresentation from the churches and ministers of the city, of which he and his parishioners and their distinguishing opinions were the subjects. The prevalence of the yellow fever at Fell's Point led to the appointment of the 23d of September, 1819, for observance as a Fast Day in the city. Mr. Sparks writes that a very fervent preacher in one of the pulpits, on that solemnity, ascribed the pestilence to the fact that the citizens had allowed "a Synagogue of Satan" to be erected among them. The hostility and abuse, however, had the familiar effect of increasing and strengthening the aforesaid "Synagogue." The Society, during Mr. Sparks's ministry, became very flourishing, and included families and individuals of the highest standing in the city.

Mr. Sparks started on the 12th of November, 1819, for Charleston, S.C., to attend the ordination of another Unitarian minister, his friend Mr. Samuel Gilman. On his way he preached on the 19th in the State-House at Raleigh, to a crowded assembly, and on his return he officiated in three services on a Sunday in the same place, the Governor and his family attending. During his absence of seven weeks, on this errand, he records that his own pulpit was supplied by Professors Edward Everett and Andrews Norton. Those were days of peculiar interest in the history of pulpit ministrations among us. If there was an element of "sensationalism" in them, the material and the method of it were in harmony with seriousness and the consistency of things, and tended to edification. In the summer of 1820, Mr. Sparks made a tour into Western Virginia.

The qualities of his mind, and his own strong impulses in the direction in which he was best fitted to render good service to the largest number of persons, made Mr. Sparks always eager to avail himself of the help of the press, and of the channels of literature. Whether it were the newspaper, the tract, the magazine, the substantial volume, or a series of volumes extended enough to be called a "library," each and all of these presented themselves to him as inviting him with opportunities of turning his own industry and knowledge to direct account in advancing high culture in every department. He himself more than once records that after he had proposed to publish an essay on some particular subject, he had to read and study for his own information simultaneously with his preparation of copy for the waiting printer. When a few years afterwards, on changing the subjects of his investigations, and to meet his other literary wants, he offered for sale a selection from his library, he had a catalogue of the books printed. That catalogue is in itself a very striking token of the diligence and wisdom with which he had gathered the substantial volumes named in it.

On the 19th of November, 1820, he chronicles the organization, at his own prompting, of "The Baltimore Unitarian Society for the Distribution of Books," on the inauguration of which he delivered a discourse. This society, which received a large number of members, and was well furnished with funds, was started for the purpose of publishing a small periodical called "The Unitarian Miscellany," the first number of which was issued January 1, 1821. It began with a monthly issue of one thousand copies, which was doubled in six months, and at the end of the first year a reprint of the volume was required. Mr. Sparks continued to edit this work through the third volume in 1823, when he committed it to the care of the Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, who for a season occupied the pulpit after Mr. Sparks's resignation. Though this periodical made no pretension to elaborateness or exhaustive discussion, it was eminently instructive, thorough, and substantial in its matter, characterized by sober, judicious, and devout sentiments, and admirably suited for its purpose of helping and justifying a modification of accepted beliefs, while at the same time carefully guarding against boldness in innovation, or conceit in speculation. Many of the brief pieces in that periodical give proof of much painstaking in their composition, and might be profitably kept in present use. The Unitarian churches in Washington, Charleston, S.C., and New York were instituted during Mr. Sparks's ministry, and he was a most efficient auxiliary in assuring their early vigor and prosperity.

Under date of the 20th of December, 1821, Mr. Sparks wrote as follows: "I was chosen to be Chaplain of the House of Representatives of Congress during the present session. As the election was a sort of contest between the Liberal and the Orthodox, there was a strenuous opposition on the part of the latter. But the vote was at length carried by an honorable majority, although there were five contending candidates. I was proposed by my friends and the friends of the Unitarian cause, but not at any instance of my own, nor indeed with any desire to fill the station." He had been elected on the 10th of December.

The Sunday after his election, his society unanimously voted him liberty to accept the proffered office, the duties of which would require his absence from Baltimore during the session. He remained in Washington nearly five months. He alternated, week by week, with the Chaplain of the Senate, in Sunday preaching in the Hall of Representatives, and in daily services both in the Senate and in the House. On the Sundays upon which he was free from this duty, he preached, in a private room, for the Unitarian Society in Washington, which had then no church edifice, and whose pastor, Mr. Little, was ill. On the day of his arrival at Washington to fulfil his duties, an attempt was made, by an opposition member, to have his election reconsidered, professedly on the ground of his having delayed his coming for a week. The delay in his attendance was a prompting of his own self-respect. He would not go to Washington till he received official notice of his election. This, either by inadvertence, or for some reason, was not sent, until a friend had reminded Mr. Speaker Barbour of his duty, who attended to the matter. Mr. Sparks was on the floor when the ill-tempered motion was made. The motion, however, was overruled even by the votes of some who had resisted his election. Mr. Sparks quietly takes note of the intense opposition and the acrimonious treatment which he received from the Washington clergy in their pulpits. His own pulpit was constantly supplied, during his absence, by gentlemen from Boston; but he continued to edit his "Miscellany." During his chaplaincy, Mr. Sparks was called upon officially to deliver in the Hall of Representatives, March 3, 1822, a discourse, afterwards published, on the death of the distinguished Senator, William Pinkney.

The climate of the region in which he had been living proved very unfavorable for the health of Mr. Sparks, and interfered with the steady labor of mind to which he wished to devote himself; nor would intervals of change and relief and occasional journeyings remove the increasing feebleness which he tried to resist. He felt that he must return to his northern home. By an admirable and most affectionate letter to his Society, he resigned his pastorate on the 1st of July, 1823. With great reluctance on their part, but with most grateful and considerate appreciation of him and of his faithful work, they parted with him. Thus ended the first professional service of Mr. Sparks. He closed at once his relations to the pulpit, and then, or soon afterwards, committed his sermons to the flames. It was not consistent with his views of the ministerial office to continue to serve, even occasionally, as a preacher when he no longer held a pastoral relation to one particular charge. It does not appear that he had felt any disinclination, much less any unfitness in himself, for the offices which he had been discharging. The members of his society regarded him as one of the most exemplary and devoted of ministers, conscientiously scrupulous and faithful in his conformity to all the traditionary exactions of his office, and as constantly aiming for new and judicious measures of his own devising to engage and direct their zeal in behalf of all that is good. It is a curious fact, that, while those who have succeeded him for longer or shorter periods as preachers beneath the dome of the stately temple where he first served, have been greatly annoyed by the echoes which come back to the pulpit and by the acoustic difficulties encountered by the occupants of many of the pews, he never felt, or at least never complained of, any embarrassment from that source. He had all the satisfaction which in his isolated sphere of labor he could derive from the assurance, that his work was highly appreciated by a class of friends and supporters whose demands and standard of expectation could be met by no superficial or ephemeral ministrations, but required well-digested wisdom consistently taught and illustrated by example. His relations to the ministers of other denominations in the city — a city, too, in which the Roman-Catholic Church had a preponderating influence — were of a sort, at the time of his introduction among them, to test his temper and spirit. He was eminently comprehensive and catholic in his own sympathies. Of what has been said above as to the perfect congeniality of his ministerial duties, perhaps a single qualification should be made. It was well known to Mr. Sparks's friends that in later years he had a strong repugnance for standing before an audience to deliver an address. His own words to that effect will by and by be quoted. Probably the disinclination, with a consequent shrinking and an embarrassed utterance, increased with him. But those who remember him as a preacher, do not associate with him any such feeling, or such results as would naturally follow it. The late Rev. Dr. Greenwood, one of Mr. Sparks's most intimate associates, on being asked many years after Mr. Sparks's retirement from the pulpit, what was his marked characteristic in it, replied, "Dignity."

So far as the peculiarities of his own religious system, offensive or dangerous as they might be in the opinion of others, admitted of a most searching trial by the accepted standard authoritative with all Christians, he thought that those who differed most widely from him might agree with him in the calm and candid search for the truth. He wished to hold friendly intercourse even with his bitterest opponents, though he reserved all his intellectual strength for dealing only with conscientious antagonists, and never engaged in the less honorable methods of controversy. Before his work in Baltimore was done, he had drawn to him personal friends among leading circles in every religious communion, and was honored, by all classes, as a citizen, a scholar, and a public teacher. The valedictory letter from his Society, written and signed by Theodoric Bland, late Chancellor of the State of Maryland, has in it an earnestness and directness of address which certify its sincerity.

Through the remainder of his life Mr. Sparks loved to renew his pleasant associations with Baltimore by frequent visits. New friends were added to the old circle, and his welcome was warm and constant. He retained with special sympathy his interest in the fortunes of his former parish, which he manifested by keeping up a close intimacy with his immediate successor in the pastorate, and by inquiries continued to the close of his life as to the prosperity of the Society. His own personal gravity, and the dignity of the pursuits to which he devoted the whole of his after-life, — more than half of all his years, — gave to his speech, demeanor, and style of writing the characteristics of a cheerful seriousness.

There are works which belong to the period of Mr. Sparks's ministry, and which are in keeping with the course of study and the professional duties of his office, that must now be noticed. The first of these is a volume of six Letters, addressed to the Rev. W. E. Wyatt, D.D., an Episcopal clergyman of Baltimore, "On the Ministry, Ritual, and Doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church." These letters, first published in 1820, and reprinted in Boston in 1844, were designed to controvert and answer statements advanced, by the gentleman to whom they were addressed, in a sermon that had been preached and published by him. They are moderate and courteous in their tone; but so deliberately considered in the matter of their positions and arguments, that their writer felt no necessity or occasion for retracting or modifying any thing in them when he sent them forth in a new edition, after the lapse of a quarter of a century. Mr. Sparks aims with candor and in a spirit which loves and is content with the simple truth, to disprove the asserted divine right and the alleged scriptural authority of the distinctive tenets and principles of Episcopacy. He insists that its special theory and ecclesiastical institution, its discipline and form of worship, shall not be identified with the vital essence and the practical truths of pure Christianity. Of course the book lacks the elaborate and exhaustive character of very many of the publications which have dealt with that unfinished controversy. But the simplicity, directness, and argumentative force with which it deals with matters that are only more perplexed by more learning and pleading, give the author's good stamp to his work.

After due preparation and announcement by a Prospectus, Mr. Sparks began, January 1, 1823, the publication of a "Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology." He purposed a series of quarterly issues which would make two volumes each year. It was continued through twelve numbers, concluding in March, 1826. The motive, aim, and method of that design of the author are in striking harmony with what has already been presented as characteristic of the school of theology — if it may be called such — to which he and his distinguished college friends belonged. In his grateful dedication of the "Collection," to his revered benefactor, President Kirkland, he describes the contents as "designed to promote the cause of sacred learning, of truth and charity, of religious freedom and rational piety." There is condensed wisdom in these sentences from his preface: "In the science of theology, which runs so far into the deep and uncertain things of metaphysics, and which allows so wide a range for the imagination, it is no wonder that much should be written which is neither calculated to instruct the plain inquirer, nor edify the practical Christian." But he adds, "Among the numerous works on theological subjects, a few may be found which have an intrinsic value distinct from the speculative opinions contained in them, and from the dogmas which it may be their primary or subordinate object to inculcate. . . . Wise and enlightened men, however they may differ on points of speculation, will think nearly alike on all that is fundamental or important in religion, when they submit to be guided by their understanding." Mr. Sparks approves the saying of Paley, that, "whatever makes religion more rational, makes it more credible"; and also the saying of Young, that, "when faith is virtue, reason makes it so."

It was, therefore, Mr. Sparks's design — carried out with fidelity and success in this publication — to collect from the immense fields of theological literature, independently of sectarian and denominational bounds, the utterances of piety and wisdom, consecrated by Christian faith, which expressed the religious harmony of men whose agreements were more than their variances. No better service in the cause of religious literature could be performed by the press, even at this day, than the reproduction of those six small volumes, which contain pieces from the pens of the following esteemed writers; namely, Turretin, Abauzit, Archdeacon Blackburne, Bp. Hoadly, Dr. Whitby, Bp. Hare, Sir Isaac Newton, Charles Butler, Robert Robinson, Thomas Cogan, William Penn, Dr. Sykes, Dr. Benson, Thomas Emlyn, Mrs. Barbauld, "The ever-memorable John Hales," James Foster, Bp. Jeremy Taylor, John Locke, Robert Clayton, Dr. Watts, and Le Clerc.

A substantial octavo volume, published by Mr. Sparks in Boston, in 1823, bears the following title: "An Inquiry into the Comparative Moral Tendency of Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines, in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Princeton." A portion of the contents of this volume is a reproduction, with alterations and additions, of letters that had been before published in the "Unitarian Miscellany," drawn forth from Mr. Sparks by a sharper aspersion, among the many assaults made from the pulpits in Baltimore, upon his religious fellowship. Dr. Miller, in an ordination sermon preached by him in that city, had allowed himself to utter some very severe strictures of a moral character against Unitarians. When challenged for his words, by a letter from Mr. Sparks, he changed his ground to a harsh representation of what he thought would be the tendency of Unitarian opinions. Mr. Sparks followed him in this new direction, and covered quite a wide field, largely extended in the additional letters comprised in his volume of historical, biographical, and speculative matter, bearing upon the theme suggested by his title. The controversy, which had opened with sharp tones, was pursued within the restraints of decorum, and acquired rather an amicable spirit before it closed. The two disputants learned to respect each other's character and purposes. When, afterwards, Mr. Sparks was editing the "Library of American Biography," he committed the "Life of Jonathan Edwards" to the hands of Dr. Miller, and allowed him a free opportunity to present and advocate views in harmony with his own opinions.

Before he had closed his professional relations at Baltimore, he had been in correspondence about the "North-American Review," looking to arrangements which finally resulted in his purchase of it as a piece of property, and in his re-assuming its editorship. The "Review" was owned in shares by a few proprietors, among whom was the late Hon. Edward Everett, who was also its editor. In the very interesting, frank, but not unfriendly, letters by the parties to that correspondence, it appears that Mr. Everett, affirming that the value of the

"Review" had been greatly enhanced under his editorship, advanced a claim to a right of purchasing it at a valuation below what the other proprietors regarded as just. At one stage of the negotiations it seemed as if he purposed to trust to his own resources, and establish a rival "Review"; in which case the other proprietors wished Mr. Sparks to assume the conduct of another, to be published in Philadelphia.* The matter, however, was amicably disposed of to the satisfaction of all the interested parties. Mr. Sparks, on taking up his residence in Boston, purchased the shares of all the other proprietors, and began again the editorship of it with the year 1824. As a matter of information to readers curious about the value of literary property from time to time among us, it may be noted that Mr. Sparks sets the cost of the "Review" to himself, including his own share in it, at a trifle short of eleven thousand dollars. For the larger portion of this sum he was, of course, obliged to assume an indebtedness. He continued in charge of it till, in March, 1830, he sold the proprietorship for nearly double its cost to himself, and transferred the editorship to the late Hon. A. H. Everett. During this interval Mr. Sparks was frequently absent on long and distant journeys, collecting historical materials, and making elaborate researches, while he also made his first visit to Europe, and was industriously engaged upon many other works. While absent on that visit, he wrote nothing for the "Review"; but left it in the charge of his friend, Dr. J. G. Palfrey, who also succeeded Mr. A. H. Everett as editor. The matter contributed by Mr. Sparks, in the form of elaborate articles and miscellaneous and critical notices, covers a very large variety of subjects. He felt the responsibility of his editorial position, and used it as a means for conscientious and wise effort to elevate the standard of literary taste and good scholarship in this country; and his efforts were very effective to those ends. In his journal he states the principles on which he aimed to conduct it, and the rules which guided him in his editorial supervision of papers sent to him by contributors. In looking over his papers in manuscript, and running through the contents of the "Review" during his sole management of it, it appears that more than one-third of those contents were from his own pen. His correspondence, too, was extensive with gentlemen in various parts of the globe, of whom he asked contributions on specified subjects. The Colonization Society engaged his particular interest, and he followed it from its origin, and traced its operations by frequent references to it. The articles which deal more or less directly with American History, in its materials, its subjects, or the attempts which were made to elucidate or to illustrate it, increase in number and in length in the latter portion of his editorship, and from them might be gleaned the contents of a very interesting volume. In 1843, he wrote for the fifty-sixth volume of the "Review" the very instructive article on "The Treaty of Washington"; being that negotiated by Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton, concerning the North-eastern boundary.

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* "I declined to become an opposition editor. I do not love feuds." — *Journal of J. S.*

On leaving Baltimore, in an ill state of health, in the summer of 1823, Mr. Sparks journeyed in Pennsylvania and Western New York, visiting places of interest, making inquiries, and gathering information which, carefully recorded in his diary, he was enabled afterwards to turn to account in his various historical and biographical works. In his frequent subsequent journeys, as in this, it is interesting to note, from his carefully arranged papers and diaries, with what zeal he obtained, and with what discretion and prudence he used, facts of an historical or personal character, revealed to him often confidentially, bearing upon the reputation of distinguished persons, and disclosing secrets which might engender strifes, if allowed to appear in print. He showed an admirable judgment in many a critical matter, which he was afterwards bound to notice or to deal with, in candidly recognizing, or in wisely suppressing, what had come to his knowledge through the confidence which was reposed in him. At a late period in his life he went over these papers with conscientious care, for the purpose of obliterating or rendering illegible names and particulars which others might not use as discreetly as he had done.

Reaching Boston, near the end of August, he took lodgings, but spent his time for a few weeks in pleasant visits to a circle of friends at Nahant and elsewhere. In September he went to Baltimore, packed up his books, took leave of his friends, with hearty regrets on both sides, and, intending henceforth to make his home in Boston, provided himself with apartments suited for a bachelor scholar, in Somerset Street. Books and other literary materials were accumulating in his hands, and he was already in possession of a large number of valuable autograph letters of public men. It must have been with something of scholarly regret, and with a sensitive reminder that he was parting, though without alienation, from pursuits which he had loved, that he prepared a catalogue of "Theological and Miscellaneous Books to be sold at public auction, in Boston, May 28, 1824, at the office of the 'North-American Review.'" In looking over this printed pamphlet, one can hardly avoid the expression of surprise at its contents, and a wondering question how the owner, with his slender emoluments, had come into possession of them. They are mainly theological works, solid, well selected, and then, for the most part, rare, not only in private, but in our public libraries. They are in English, Latin, French, and German, comprising three hundred and fifty-three titles or parcels, and embracing nearly twice as many volumes. The list of titles is itself a most significant witness to his assiduity in collecting and in examining works, for the mere gathering of which he must have enlisted the kindly aid of friends visiting Europe, and have spent all that he could spare from a small salary after he had met the charges of a frugal mode of life.* And he parted with these erudite folios and octavos, only to get the means of purchasing more. I have it in my power to divulge the amount of proceeds from the sale, but will withhold it, lest the avowal might be used reproachfully of the "American Athens" of that date, or as a token of the slight estimate of theological literature in the once Puritan city. All through his life it was Mr. Sparks's wish and purpose to own every book of which he would have occasion to make much use. The preparation of the Biographical Sketches with which the selections in the series of Theological Essays are introduced, required a considerable degree of study and scholarly skill. They give an additional value to the volumes containing those Tracts, and drew upon his well-filled time till the close of the series, as before noted, in March, 1826. In 1824, Mr. Sparks, with the help of instructors,—one of whom was the late beloved college preceptor, Francis Sales, that urbane and genial gentleman, Washingtonian in his look and bearing,—devoted himself assiduously to the study of the Spanish language, going more thoroughly into it for the purpose of attaining a knowledge of South American affairs.† In the same year he drew up, by request, a very elaborate plan for a theological school at Cambridge, one essential feature of which was that it should be independent of the college in its relations and in its management.

It was, doubtless, Mr. Sparks's proximity to Washington, his visits and temporary residence there, and the acquaintance which he there formed with public men, whose respect and confidence, independent of party relations, he always won and held, that decided the direction of his future pursuits. President John Q. Adams, Chief-Justice Marshall, Judge Bushrod

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* In a letter to Rev. Robert Aspland, London, Mr. Sparks wrote, Dec. 23, 1819, "I wish to procure every work of merit which has been written by the earlier English Unitarians." He gives "directions [for a bookseller] to select all the Unitarian tracts and single sermons which have sufficient merit to recommend them."

† "Propose writing several articles on South America, for the 'North American.'"—*Journal of J. S.*

Washington, Henry Clay, and other leading men were at once numbered among his foremost friends, ready to advance his honorable and patriotic plans. He had before him a most rich field of historic labor, in which there had been no efficient workers, and but a very few even superficial loiterers. His own tastes and acquirements fitted him to appreciate the wealth of that field, and his mental constitution and habits admirably adapted him for the pioneer work of surveying it and opening it for all who might follow him. The time also was especially opportune for such plans as he entertained. Many of the most important events in our national history had then begun to have the interest of things just fading from the memories of the elder generation, and sure to engage the inquisitive spirit of those coming upon the stage. Valuable and important papers, too, were to be rescued and preserved then, or never afterwards. Mr. Sparks felt the demand of the subject, the occasion, and the time, as an obligation laid upon cultivated men to divide a great work among them, and to devote to it themselves and their resources. Of that work it wrongs no other of our many devoted and successful historical laborers to say, that he accomplished the most, and furnished new incitement and valuable helps and guides for all contemporary and subsequent scholars engaged in the same pursuits. His industry, his methods, his candor, conscientiousness, moderation, pure taste, and good judgment make him an example which may be wisely and safely followed, and on which it is not easy, in any essential matter, to improve.

It is remarkable, however, that in all which Mr. Sparks accomplished, he was performing work which he regarded simply as incidental to an object he had in view from the first, and never lost sight of, never abandoned, and yet never perfected. Never abandoned, I have allowed myself to say, and I hardly need to admit that the assertion is qualified when the fact is stated, that an accident ten years before his death having impaired the free use of his right arm, and yielding to his strong disinclination to employ an amanuensis, Mr. Sparks suffered from the continual delays of his hope of completing his intended work.*

His purpose was to write the history of America. All his historical and biographical works, undertaken and accomplished, came up incidentally in the way which he was surveying or traversing in his course toward that object. In his journal of August 18, 1823, is found this record: "Meditating on the importance of having a new History of America. Thought that I might undertake it some time or other. I would go to the fountain and read every thing on the subject." Again, under date of February 15, 1825, he defines for himself these two subjects: "A History of the Governments and Religion of the North-American Indians," and a "History of Republican Institutions in North America." His diary for April 23, 1824, while he was on a visit to Philadelphia, makes the first mention of the fact that he was specially interested in collecting original letters and other papers relating to General Washington, though he writes that the subject had long been in his mind. In 1826, he made an extensive Southern tour, of which there is a full and very interesting journal, recording facts, observations, and researches, all preparing him for the work he was soon to accomplish. By personal examination he made himself acquainted with the public papers in the archives of the thirteen original States and at Washington, and he visited and sought information of men able to direct his further investigations, to furnish him with historical material, and to fill up gaps in his own knowledge of persons and events.

At the right time Mr. Sparks enlisted the friendly cooperation of Mr. Justice Story, in an application made by him to Judge Bushrod Washington, nephew of the General, and then the possessor of Mount Vernon, and of all the private papers which his uncle had given to him by his will. These precious papers, which, after Mr. Sparks's use of them, were purchased by Congress, and are now in the national archives, were then in the condition in which the President had left them at his own mansion, and had been but partially examined by Chief-Justice Marshall, when he wrote his Life of Washington. Mr. Sparks sought of their inheritor, through Judge Story, the privilege of examining them for the purposes of selection and publication. The application was at first unsuccessful,* but being renewed, with favoring solicitations, was yielded to, and Judge Washington soon became an ardent coadjutor in the intended object. Mr. Sparks had already in his possession many letters of Washington, collected from various quarters, and had had them carefully copied, in Boston, in 1826. But he had now secured the privilege, which was so essential to him, of going to the fountain-head. His contract with Judge Washington was signed January 18, 1827. Judge Marshall, on whose sympathy and encouragement he had largely depended, was asked by Mr. Sparks, as recorded in his journal, with a beautiful mixture of manly frankness and deferential courtesy, whether he would allow the privilege of the use of his name and patronage for the projected undertaking. Most cordially did he assent. Thus happily furthered, while Judge Washington and his wife were on a visit to Philadelphia, Mr. Sparks was received as a privileged guest at Mount Vernon, in portions of March and May, and the whole of April, with due arrangements for his comfort, exercise, and undisturbed leisure, that he might examine and acquaint himself with the precious papers that were to occupy him for the ten years following. The results of his examination he communicated in the form of two letters to Judge Story, the first of which was published in the "Intelligencer," at Washington, May 19, 1827, and both of which were issued in a pamphlet, as a prospectus, to be used by agents with whom he at once made contracts for procuring subscribers in various parts of the country. These two letters would be sufficient of themselves to prove the especial fitness of the writer for the task he had undertaken, and to assure its performance in a manner best suited to meet the demands of the subject, and to adapt the intended publication to such a circulation as could be expected for it. Mr. Sparks found the papers he was examining disposed in more than two hundred folio volumes and bundles. Of these, more than sixty were filled with Washington's own letters in autograph, of which there were also others on file. The papers had been in large part arranged, and many of them copied, classified, and indexed, under Washington's own supervision. In his communications to Judge Story, Mr. Sparks gives a lucid and admirable description of these papers, and sets forth the outlines of his plan for publication, by a principle of selection. His comments on the collection as a whole, with his cursory criticisms, and his commendatory interjections drawn forth by his growing estimate and admiration of the character of Washington, give a peculiar charm to what were intended for mere business documents. The writer, rising early for a long ride daily on horseback, that he might bend with vigor to his in-door work; lifting his eyes occasionally, to catch glimpses from that beautiful elevation of river, lawn, and hill-side, under the sweet touch of spring-time; with his hands engaged upon the most private memorials of the almost sainted patriot whose mortal dust was reposing near, — might well feel a spell upon his spirit, consecrating his loved task as he entered upon it. He expresses frankly the embarrassment which he might well realize, when he undertook to define to himself a principle of selection and classification. On the one side he had to conform himself to the conditions set for him, by having regard to the number of volumes to which the world would give room, which the people would purchase and have time to read. On the other side he must be faithful to the character, the repute, and claims, the mind, the work, and services, of his great subject. He must allow himself sufficient fulness of treatment to avert the necessity of mutilating or omitting any thing essential to a complete presentment of that subject. After proper deliberation, he announced it to be his "great object to publish such a collection of Washington's writings as will hold a permanent place in the historical literature of the country, and transmit to posterity, in one body, the best memorials of his character and actions, and the best fruits of his mind that were recorded by himself." He recognizes as the constant guides for his own responsibility, "scrupulous care and persevering diligence." It was matter of great sadness to Mr. Sparks that both Judge Washington and Chief-Justice Marshall, whose interest and confidence grew with the progress of the work, should have died before its entire publication. It was provided for in the terms on which Mr. Sparks was intrusted with these precious papers, that the originals should never be exposed to the risks of a printing-office, and that all possible precautions should be taken to guard them from damage by fire. It required skill and care to pack them, and secure their transportation to Boston. It was only after the inheritor of the papers had assured himself, by his intercourse with Mr. Sparks, that he might be trusted as their most jealous guardian, that he would consent to their removal from Mount Vernon. Indeed, it was at first stipulated that they should not be removed. While, subsequently, they were in Mr. Sparks's charge, he was subject to the constant importunities of autograph collectors, a few of whom he was enabled at the close of his work to gratify, as the son of Judge Washington kindly left some of the papers in his possession. Judge Marshall was with Judge Washington, a party to the contract, which was a very simple one. After Mr. Sparks had been remunerated for expenses he might incur in procuring any additional materials, he was to receive half the profits of the published work.

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* While pursuing his researches in London, in a letter addressed to the English under-Secretary of State, in December, 1840, he says, "I have now in hand a History of the United States, from the peace of 1763, to the adoption of the Constitution."

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* It would seem that Mr. Sparks would not have yielded his purpose with regard to his great subject, even if the Mt. Vernon Papers had been withheld from him. He wrote to Edward Everett, March 14, 1826, "I consider such a privilege no favor to me; I ask it only as the means of doing greater justice to the subject. He who brings them out does a public service."

The decision which he deliberately adopted as to the plan, the compass, and the extent of the intended work now in his hands, having regard to the conditions already intimated, was to issue eleven octavo volumes devoted to the Writings of Washington, with the necessary illustrative matter in notes and appendices, and one more volume containing a new Life of Washington. Ten years of assiduous toil, attended often with perplexities, were spent upon the work, before its results came into the hands of the public. These years, whose labors of investigation and composition in the student's private apartments were broken by many journeys in his own country, by researches conducted abroad, by frequent changes of residence, and by incidents of domestic interest, may be regarded as essentially spent upon his great subject. For though Mr. Sparks did publish several works during the interval, and plan and make progress in others which followed, he was in fact led to undertake them by the incidental relations which they had with his main theme; and the necessary investigations which they required were directly helpful to thoroughness in dealing with that. With what sound discretion he recognized the rules by which he was to be guided, and with what caution, good sense, and wise forethought he defined the principles of selection, the responsibilities of editorship, and the requisitions peculiar to his work, he was to have an occasion afterwards to ask a second judgment from the public, more deliberate than that pronounced on the first publication of his volumes. When, fifteen years afterwards, one titled historian and several private pamphleteers and newspaper critics joined in casting grave imputations upon his editorial judgment and fidelity, Mr. Sparks found an easy and triumphant vindication of himself in calmly referring his assailants to his own prefatory announcements, by which he had forestalled and neutralized the supposed grounds and materials of their charges. But of this more, by and by.

Aided by the pens, in their leisure hours, of a few college students, whose straitened means it was a pleasure to Mr. Sparks to be able to replenish by the reward of clerical labor, such of the papers brought from Mount Vernon as were selected for publication were copied for the press.* He himself was most industriously seeking collateral matter for his notes and appendices, explanations and illustrations of the text, in the papers of Congress and other public bodies, in the letters of Washington's correspondents, and in all the sources of information to be found in State archives and in private cabinets. A vast deal of patient inquiry and of skilful comparison and of personal examination was needed in the gathering together and the making a wise use of maps, charts, plans of fortifications, and delineations of battle-fields. These were to be sought for from both parties in the War of the Revolution. Very many intricate questions and controverted issues, as well as some delicate points touching the reputation of prominent actors in the strife, depended upon these field-plans, upon their accuracy, and upon the positions assigned in them to parties of the combatants. Mr. Sparks held himself bound to visit and view these localities, and with the sketches and drafts of others in his hands, and a discreet ear given to local traditions and to the stories of eye-witnesses and actors, to try to put posterity in possession of the means, on the carefully engraved sheet, of following the campaigns of Washington over scenes that were to be transformed by prosperity, culture, and the busy enterprises of an expanding nation.

This work, in all its details and exactions on our soil and from our own repositories, done or provided for, Mr. Sparks prepared for a visit to Europe. There was hardly an important paper in his hands, beginning with those which referred to the family history of Washington and his services in the French War, and running down to the diplomatic and treaty relations of our country at the very time in which Mr. Sparks was engaged on his work, which did not suggest to him the necessity of pursuing his researches in England and on the Continent. Indeed, there were many printed books, pamphlets, and newspapers of prime importance to him, which were to be found only there; and the public foreign archives contained the essential complement to what he had found in our own. After a passage of twenty days and a half, he landed at Liverpool on the 15th of April, 1828, and at once made his way to London. In England, as also on the Continent, Mr. Sparks was the pioneer and guide, as well as the wise and most helpful example, of that long succession of explorers and historians, local, State, and national, from our own country, who have gone abroad to pursue their investigations. He facilitated the work and did more than any one else to insure the success of all who have followed him. The researches which he had in view were then embarrassed by peculiar difficulties since removed. Traditional hostilities and the jealousy of the constituted guardians of public state offices, and of their subordinate functionaries, rendered access to their treasuries very difficult, even where it was not prohibited. But Mr. Sparks, largely through his own personal merits, and, for the rest, through the patronage which he easily secured, soon found the way open to him. His advances in it were discreet, and for the most part unimpeded, though requiring prudence, a subjection to tedious formalities, and the employment of officials. Similar were his experiences in France. In England, his most valuable and active friends were Lord Holland, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Sir James Mackintosh; in Paris, Lafayette, and the Count de Marbois, whose work on this country was then submitted to his revision. Returning home, he landed in New York, May 11, 1829, bringing with him a valuable collection of complete papers, or of certified references, and of extracts and summaries of documents of the most essential importance. He was commended abroad for his personal and literary qualities.

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* The Washington Papers, except those in the Letter Books, had come to Mr. Sparks's hands in loose bundles. They were chronologically arranged for him by the late Rev. Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, who also made an index to the whole collection, forming a large folio volume, now in the Department of State at Washington.

Mr. Sparks, finding it would be most convenient for him to be near the printing-office which he was henceforward to keep so busy in his service, and drawn by the congenial influences of the place, transferred his residence to Cambridge, which was to be his home for the remainder of his life. Still a bachelor, he found apartments in different dwellings till he should have one of his own. On the 30th of August, 1832, he delivered before the Phi-Beta-Kappa Society the annual oration or discourse. In his journal, he writes, "The affair went off as well as I could wish; but I am not fond of public speaking." His subject was, "The Study of American History." Large portions of this discourse are published in the "Boston Book" (1837), and in "The American Museum" (1839). The manuscript, now among his papers, produces, on the perusal of it, the impression, conformed to the testimony of those among us who were present at its delivery, that it must have been listened to with an appreciative attention because of the scope, the solidity, and the substance of the views presented in it with a calm, impressive earnestness. Some there are, — and Mr. Sparks was one of them, — "not fond of public speaking," whose utterances have all the more weight on that account. Another and similar manuscript, among his papers, is a copy of an elaborate "Plan for the Study of History in American Colleges," which he drew up at the request of Dr. Matthews, Chancellor of the University of New York. At a later period, Mr. Sparks was applied to about taking office in the Smithsonian Institution. There is no doubt but that in some such administrative function he would have organized and directed measures eminently helpful in our national development.

On the 16th of October, 1832, Mr. Sparks married Miss Frances Anne, daughter of William Allen, Esq., of Hyde Park, N.Y. She was an accomplished and cultivated lady, but of delicate constitution, and not long spared to his companionship. She died of consumption, July 12, 1835, leaving a daughter, Maria Verplank, who also died of the same disease, at Cambridge, January 3, 1846, in her thirteenth year.

There is an interesting entry in the record in Mr. Sparks's journal, connected with his beginning in housekeeping. The fine old mansion in Cambridge, now the residence of Professor Longfellow, has become famous as the headquarters of Washington while in command of the American army, at Cambridge. It is one of some half-dozen substantial dwellings, in the near neighborhood, still standing in their solid and even imposing dignity of architecture, which were owned by loyalists at the time of the Revolution, and, of course, confiscated. It belonged to Mrs. Cragie at the time Mr. Sparks made the following record, under date of April 2, 1833: "This day, began to occupy Mrs. Cragie's house in Cambridge. It is a singular circumstance, that while I am engaged in preparing for the press the letters of General Washington which he wrote at Cambridge after taking command of the American army, I should occupy the same rooms that he did at that time." It was indeed a felicitous coincidence. Beginning with the opportunity of his long visit at Mount Vernon above mentioned, and following the whole course of his labors, it would seem as if Mr. Sparks had been specially privileged with opportunities and influences for sympathetic "communications" with his great subject.

It must have been with a feeling of deep and just satisfaction that he made the following entries in his journal. Under date of July 22, 1837, he writes, "Finished the Life of Washington, and sent the last sheet of the manuscript to the printer. It is ten years since Washington's papers were put into my hands." Though the "Life" is the first of the twelve volumes, as numbered in the series, it was the last to be completed and printed. Again, under date of August 7, 1837: "Mr. Bushrod Washington and Mrs. Marshall came here [Cambridge] from Virginia. The account was settled to the entire satisfaction of all parties, up to the present time." And here it is proper to mention, that when, in 1853, he published, in four volumes, the "Correspondence of the American Revolution; being Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington," &c., from papers which, gathered from various sources, had been in his possession some twenty or thirty years, he surprised the heirs of the parties to his original contract, by sending to them a like portion of the proceeds of the copyright.

In completing an undertaking of such magnitude, involving so large a responsibility, and requiring such a continued devotion of some of the highest intellectual and moral qualities, with industry and extended inquiry, at home and abroad, and in so dealing with the more delicate relations of his great subject, as to give no just occasion of offence to the sensitive inheritors of prominent family names, nor to renew the acrimony of old strifes, Mr. Sparks might well feel that he had made a most valuable contribution to our national literature. It hardly seems presumptuous to say that Washington himself would accept the service as a measure of his earthly reward.

The first volume of the "Writings of Washington," being the second volume in the series of the whole work, was entered for copyright in 1833, and immediately published, followed by further issues, till the whole was in the hands of subscribers. In the Introductions to the second and third volumes, the editor sets forth with minute and full details the character of the materials with which he had been engaged, and the principles by which he had been guided in selecting from them, and putting them before his readers. He pledged himself to a rigid adherence to the most "scrupulous fidelity" in presenting such papers as he was compelled to print only in part, so that no alteration should be made in the sense or the expressed opinions of the writer. Many of these papers were substantially duplicates, and even triplicates. On the same day, or on successive days, during the war, Washington had occasion in writing to Congress and to other public bodies, or to individuals, to communicate the same facts, opinions, or suggestions. In such cases there would, for the most part, be only variations of phrase; perhaps occasionally introducing in one of the papers a stronger expression than was found in the references to the same matter in the other papers. Washington also made many changes in the transcript of some of his writings as entered on his letter-books, after sending away the originals from which they were copied. How carefully Mr. Sparks had surveyed the exactions of his work, under these among many other conditions of guidance and embarrassment which it presented, and with what sound discretion he chose his method for dealing with them, his own statements will fully testify.

I have duly and deliberately weighed with myself, and, in conference with those whose opinions and wishes would have influence over me, have considered, whether any reference should be made, in these memorial pages, to the subject of controversy between Mr. Sparks and Lord Mahon, now Earl Stanhope. There are constraining reasons which forbid that it should be passed unnoticed. Among Mr. Sparks's published works are three pamphlets relating to the controversy, which no friend of his can read to-day without feeling that the writer of them would not wish them to be forgotten or slighted; whether they be regarded in the light of a personal vindication, or as a further exposition of his own views of editorial duty. Besides, Lord Mahon has allowed to stand unchanged, in the appendix to the sixth volume of the last — which is the third and revised — edition of his History, the modified but still serious residue of his original "strictures." The writer of these pages has means of knowing that Mr. Sparks felt that the wrong which had been done him had not been adequately redressed. Some reflections had been cast upon him which wounded his self-respect, and which were sadly in contrast with the equity and generosity exhibited by him through his whole literary career. The respect which he so justly deserves from us as the chief of historical laborers in our country, and as an example to all who shall follow him, requires, therefore, a recital of the case. The statement of it ought to be as frank and as dispassionate as his own way of meeting it.

In the preface, and in the two "Introductions," to his "Life and Writings of Washington," as has been just noted, Mr. Sparks had defined, with admirable explicitness, the well-judged principles and methods which he had deliberately adopted, in view of the many difficulties and embarrassing conditions of his task. He had to select and to extract letters and portions of letters, covenanting with his readers that the intelligibleness of the text should not be sacrificed, nor the meaning in any case misrepresented. True, he did not pledge himself not to add or to interpolate any words or opinions of his own, as he edited a selection of Washington's writings; for it probably did not occur to him that any one would regard such a pledge as needed from him. His lucid exposition of his plan, and of his aim and course in working it out under perplexities, the real weight of which only one who, like himself, had carefully examined the "two hundred folio volumes of manuscripts," could appreciate, was heartily approved by those for whom he had been laboring for ten years with an amazing diligence. Those who were competent to judge of the comparative excellence of his method, did something more than approve it. They discerned its wisdom, its felicity, its apt adjustment to the prime ends to be attained; and they regarded it as, in itself, a remarkable attestation of the signal competency of the editor for the work he had undertaken. And this exposition of his method, as it received an unquestioned contemporary approval, was found to be sufficient and suited at every point for Mr. Sparks's full and triumphant vindication when his editorial judgment and fidelity were impugned, some fifteen years afterwards. There had been no exception to the gratitude and commendation expressed by our large literary public as the completed work was circulated.

Scholars, statesmen, and common readers joined in the expression of their satisfaction that the honored and revered Washington had so adequate a presentment and portraiture to represent him in our homes. This general commendation had not been qualified by even critical fault-finding, still less by any censorious reflections or allegations.

In the years 1851 and 1852, there appeared in the "New-York Evening Post," "The International Magazine," and "The Westminster Review" a series of charges against Mr. Sparks's editorial fidelity or competency, so severe and so unjust as to leave a mystery still unexplained to those who have sought to penetrate to the motive of them, if that motive is to be regarded as pure and candid. The only plausible explanation which was ever offered of these grievous reflections was, that they were designed to prepare the way for a rival edition of the "Writings of Washington." Mr. Sparks was suffering, at the time, from a very severe illness; sensitive to the great injustice done him, but compelled to defer the exposure of it. These charges were both general and particular, and a show was made of adducing evidence to substantiate them. They covered the whole range of his editorial responsibility, and accused him of all the offences of which a careless and unfaithful, a prejudiced and a biassed, editor could, under any circumstances, be guilty. It was alleged that he had omitted important words, sentences, or paragraphs from Washington's letters, and had interpolated words, phrases, and even sentences, of his own; had modified forms of expression, and altered the sense of the originals; had stiffened some familiarities and severities of language, into cold and formal utterances, and had softened some asperities of judgment and invective in which Washington had indulged against the British Government and its officials, and against some of our own public and military men. These charges were read, by those competent to weigh them, with equal amazement and incredulity, and by Mr. Sparks's most intimate friends with indignation. Those who were acquainted with him as a man, and who knew the qualities of his mind and character, felt outraged at what they could not but regard as transcending the range of criticism, and as engaging the weapons of malice and slander. He himself, at this stage of the issue, delayed to take public notice of the charges, doubtful if he ever should recognize them, and trusting, as well he might, that any one who would read his "Introductions" would learn at once how admirably he had anticipated and covered any degree of plausibility which such imputations and the show of warrant for them might be made to wear.

Mr. Sparks supposed that Lord Mahon had been misled by the boldness of these charges into a reiteration of them, with an intensified and sharpened severity, in the following comment introduced into the Appendix to the first edition of the sixth volume of his "History of England:" "I am bound not to conceal the opinion I have formed, that Mr. Sparks has printed no part of the correspondence precisely as Washington wrote it, but has greatly altered, and, as he thinks, corrected and embellished it." No criticism would be in place here, as to that "opinion," or as to the mode of its expression. The "opinion" represents its own weight, as coming from one who, never having seen the original Washington manuscripts, assumed or implied an inference that could be drawn only from an actual comparison of them with the text of the printed volumes. Mr. Sparks was afterwards assured by Lord Mahon, that this "opinion" was not founded upon the strictures above referred to; but was a generalized inference of his own from comparing the contents of some pages of Mr. Sparks's volumes with those in the "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," and in Mr. Peter Force's "American Archives," presenting the same or similar matter as from the pen of Washington.

Lord Mahon went even further in his venture. He divined motives for the very objectionable license which he supposed Mr. Sparks to have allowed himself. Mr. Sparks had "tampered with the truth of history," for the purpose of "setting Washington on stilts," and in order to ascribe to him the "use of language more conformable to Washington's dignity of character than Washington could use for himself." Mr. Sparks had also "been desirous to strike out as far as possible every word or phrase that could possibly touch the local fame of the gentlemen at Boston, or wound in any manner the sensitive feelings of New England."

The painful necessity of self-vindication thus imposed upon Mr. Sparks was met by him with dignity, ability, and a literary triumph which will always henceforward be conspicuous in the class of controversies to which this belongs. One might well-nigh be reconciled to the fact of his having been subjected to such an annoyance because of the fulness and the success of his exculpation. He wrote and published three pamphlets covering all the elements of the controversy. The first of these is "A Reply to the Strictures of Lord Mahon and others, on the Mode of Editing the Writings of Washington." This his Lordship answered in a long and elaborate Letter, now printed in the appendix to the sixth volume of the revised edition of his History. Mr. Sparks rejoined in a "Letter to Lord Mahon; being an Answer to his Letter addressed to the Editor of Washington's Writings." The third pamphlet is "Remarks on a 'Reprint of the original Letters from Washington to Joseph Reed, during the American Revolution, referred to in the pamphlets of Lord Mahon and Mr. Sparks.'"

Some ten or twelve confidential letters, of which he had preserved no copy, were written by Washington to Mr. Reed in the first year of the war. Copies of the originals of these, supposed to be correct, but, as it afterwards proved, imperfect, were furnished by the grandson, Mr. William B. Reed, to Mr. Sparks, and were used by the latter, as printed in "Washington's Writings." The same letters being subsequently printed in the "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," by his grandson, occasional discrepancies appeared between the two texts. Mr. W. B. Reed afterwards reprinted the two versions in parallel columns, in a way to exhibit the variations. It was taken for granted that Mr. Reed's version was the correct one, and Lord Mahon was misled by that assumption. The result of the comparison proved that Mr. Sparks had been the more faithful editor. Mr. Reed himself admitting, on his own part, "occasional corrections of grammar and spelling, and the *omission of one or two sentences, evidently the result of oversight,*" confessed to his own responsibility for those variations between the two versions of the letters on which Lord Mahon had based his most grievous and offensive charge against Mr. Sparks.

As to the *variations* in another set of letters from Washington to Reed, of which there were copies in the Letter-Books of the former, described by the grandson of the latter as *alterations* made by Mr. Sparks, a careful examination showed that they simply represented changes made by Washington's own pen, in the transcripts preserved by him of originals which he had sent to his correspondent. Says Mr. Sparks, "I am not answerable for the variations. I had no copy to follow or consult, but the one in Washington's Letter-Books." Mr. W. B. Reed incidentally remarked in his pamphlet, "The only safe rule seems to be that which was adopted by Chief-Justice Marshall long ago"; namely, that whenever a passage in a letter was omitted or suppressed in print, the fact should be explicitly stated to the reader. Mr. Sparks shows that Judge Marshall's habit was the direct opposite of this rule, and that he omitted and suppressed constantly, at his own discretion, important passages in Washington's letters, without in any case indicating the fact by any mark. Mr. Sparks's vindication of himself was complete and exhaustive, giving to his pamphlet a striking and almost unique character; effecting its object by a calm and self-possessed dignity in tone and manner while presenting facts. Lord Mahon and others discovered in some letters of Washington sharp sentences which did not appear on Mr. Sparks's pages. A hasty inference was drawn as to a motive for the omission, warranting the severe strictures of his Lordship. Mr. Sparks, very deliberately referring his challenger to his "Introductions," found his own exculpation easy. The phrases and sentences supposed to have been suppressed for a motive, were shown to have their places in paragraphs, pages, or whole letters which were omitted because they were substantially duplicates of what was printed on contiguous pages. Mr. Sparks even found amusement in matching sentences which he was charged with leaving out from an ill motive, with other sentences of even a harsher tenor in their references to persons or subjects, appearing on the next or on very near pages in his volumes. In fact, in every instance specified, of an alleged suppression of matter which he was charged with a desire to keep back, the defendant was able to quote from letters, of the same or of proximate date, sentences of similar purport, which he had given in full because of their more comprehensive contents; and these quotations more than supplied the supposed omissions. Allowing for some very trivial verbal errata, which were to be referred to accidents in the work of transcribing, or in the printing-office, or in the correction of the proof-sheets, Mr. Sparks's vindication of his editorial fidelity was complete. That he had added or interpolated opinions, phrases, or words of his own, and that he had attempted to "embellish" what Washington had written, were proved to be utterly groundless imputations. That sectional or personal prejudices or feelings had induced him to leave out a phrase or sentence from any paragraph or letter, the rest of which he had printed, or to omit a whole paragraph or a whole letter because it contained a sentence which he wished to suppress, was also disproved.*

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* It has been with no disposition to open anew a controversy so nearly closed, and followed by friendly relations between the parties to it, that the preceding paragraphs have been written. The writer would gladly have omitted all mention of it in this memorial of one who sought to live a tranquil life, on cordial terms with all fellow-laborers. But my inspection of Mr. Sparks's private papers, many of which so pointedly refer to the pain he felt at being charged with such *motives*, for such alleged editorial infidelity, has convinced me that he would approve utterance rather than silence upon it. It is grateful to add, that I find a copy of a letter from Mr. Sparks to

By the completion of a work of such magnitude as that of Mr. Sparks's "Washington," the aims and labors of those who afterwards engage upon any part of the subject which has been thus faithfully treated are greatly facilitated. The original explorer has opened the paths and directed the way for his successors. They may glean in the same field. They may take a prose narrative, whose severity or dulness of detail is incident to its dealing with facts gathered by research and verified by arduous investigations, and they may rewrite the story, kindling it with gleams of brilliant rhetoric or with imaginative episodes. They may condense and expand, they may select, and, occasionally, add new elements of interest. Mr. Irving's Life of Washington, and Mr. Parton's Life of Franklin, faithful and charming reconstructions as they are, are far better suited for extensive popular use than are the voluminous works of Mr. Sparks. But the former authors owe a large indebtedness to him, who so facilitated their work. There certainly is no excess of warmth in the heartiness with which Mr. Irving acknowledged this indebtedness, in the sentences following: "I have also made frequent use of 'Washington's Writings,' as published by Mr. Sparks; a careful collation of many of them with the originals having convinced me of the general correctness of the collection, and of the safety with which it may be relied upon for historical purposes; and I am happy to bear

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Viscount Mahon, thanking him for the gift of the last volume of his History, in which, with general commendation, he introduces some courteous criticism, especially as to his Lordship's view of the case of Major André. He thanks his Lordship, as President of the Society of Antiquaries, for procuring his election as a Member. Having learned from a friend that his noble correspondent had expressed a hope that he might see Mr. Sparks, if he should again visit England, the latter replies as follows: —

> "If I should again cross the Atlantic, I assure you the meeting you propose will be among my most agreeable anticipations. I know not why our literary skirmishes should interfere with personal respect and esteem, or mar the relations of social intercourse. It would certainly give me pleasure to discuss with you, in a more unreserved way, the points of history and criticism which have been brought under our notice."

Returning the compliment of his own admission to the Society of Antiquaries, Dr. Sparks, as many of our associates will remember, when he came back to us from his last European trip, during which he shared pleasant relations with Earl Stanhope, procured his election to membership in our Society.

this testimony to the essential accuracy of one whom I consider among the greatest benefactors to our national literature; and to whose writings and researches I acknowledge myself largely indebted throughout my work." This acknowledgment was written in 1855, three years after Mr. Sparks had been subjected to the severe ordeal to which reference has been made above. Our genial and beautiful essayist, the unrivalled biographer of Columbus, needed not to have gone out of his delightful library on the shore of the Hudson, in writing his Life of Washington. Is it straining a claim and regard for Mr. Sparks beyond fair reason, to express a wish that Mr. Irving had allowed himself some heartier form of phrase than that of certifying to "the essential accuracy" and "the general correctness" of his predecessor, on a national theme?*

Mr. Sparks did not limit his labor or sense of responsibility in preparing his work upon Washington to a regard for those who might read it in America. The world-wide fame of his great subject made him anxiously concerned that the results of his toil should appear in an authentic and creditable form, best adapted for use in the literature of Europe. Contenting himself with such suggestions as might favor the publication of the whole or any portion of the contents of his volumes by any one who might undertake it in Great Britain, he devoted considerable pains, when he was on the Continent, and in his correspondence on his return home, to provide for and secure suitable translations into the German and French languages.

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* Having allowed this expression of his own feeling to stand as above, the writer takes pleasure in adding, that while Mr. Irving published, for the large circle of his readers, only what has here been quoted from his preface, as his estimate of Mr. Sparks's labors and their result, in a private letter now before me, he utters himself in warmer terms, as follows:—

> "I doubt whether the world will ever get a more full and correct idea of Washington than is furnished by Sparks. It appears to me that Sparks has executed his task of selection, arrangement, and copious illustration with great judgment and discrimination, and with consummate fidelity to the purposes of history. Posterity will do justice to him and them."

Mr. Sparks, of course, on his part, appreciated the attractions of style and the genial spirit of Mr. Irving's delightful work.

A few extracts from his journals, relating to this point, will interest us here: —

Journal, 1828. — "Professor Saalfeld conversed with me a good deal about Washington's Works, and seemed to take a lively interest in the subject. He said he would cheerfully undertake the task of translating the selection I propose for the German public, if no other person can be found better suited for my purpose. He expressed a belief that the work would meet with great favor in Germany. Indeed, he showed a decided inclination to engage as translator."

The Professor died before the work was finished in America. The friendly agency of Mr. George Ticknor was enlisted to secure another translator and editor in Germany. The result, a very satisfactory one to Mr. Sparks, was, the appearance in Leipsic, in 1839, of two solid octavo volumes, containing the Life, and a selection from the Writings, of Washington, translated into German, by Friedrich von Raumer.*

On the 26th of July, 1828, Mr. Sparks, writing in Paris, addressed the following letter to Lafayette, who desired great caution on the subject, "as many literary persons of minor qualifications would be glad to undertake it": —

"DEAR SIR, — Do you remember that we conversed the other morning on the subject of providing a translation of Washington's Works, in Paris? I believe you are acquainted with M. Guizot. Would he not be willing to undertake the translation? . . . I presume no man is better qualified to do justice to the writings of your illustrious friend."

Journal, August 4, 1828. — "Gen. Lafayette called on me. He said he knew M. Guizot, that he was extremely well qualified for the work, and that he would see him to-morrow morning. He could think of only one objection, and that was, M. Guizot is not a republican. He said he would speak to Benjamin Constant on the subject, as he took a lively interest in it, and would give good counsel. . . . He feared that business would make too many encroachments upon his leisure, whereas M. Guizot is a man of letters."

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* Mr. Sparks wrote as follows to Von Raumer, Sept. 1, 1837: "The more you can find time to contribute, by way of Preface or Introduction, the better, as whatever you may write will not fail to recommend the work to the favor of the German public. . . . I suppose it was your intention to put your name on the titlepage as Editor of the German edition, and my name as author of the Life, and Editor of the original work."

Aug. 5.—"The General told me he had seen M. Guizot, whose views and impressions were such as he could wish, and that M. Guizot would be glad to see me to-morrow, to converse upon the subject. It was settled that M. Remusat, who is going to marry the General's grand-daughter, should go with me to see M. Guizot. The General pressed me to come to Lagrange as soon as I could, and to remain as long as my time would permit."

Aug. 6.—"M. Remusat called with me on M. Guizot. . . . I explained to him the general object and plan of Washington's Works. He agrees to become responsible for a French translation of such parts as may be suitable to the French public; to take the entire charge and superintendence of the publication; to prefix his name to the work; to supply an original introduction, and notes if necessary, and to render it, in all respects, such a production as he shall be willing to have go out under his name; and he is willing it should be made public that he has undertaken this charge. I shall see him again, and have further conversation."

Dec. 25, after Mr. Sparks's return from Lagrange:—

"I concluded an arrangement with M. Guizot, to translate Washington's Works. He is carefully to superintend the translation; to see that it is correctly made; to make such a selection as he shall think proper, for the French market, and to put his name in the titlepage, as the translator and French editor."

In a letter to M. Guizot, dated Oct. 5, 1829, Mr. Sparks wrote:—

"I trust that, before many months, I shall be able to send you the first volume. At all events, I hope you will not lose your interest in the work, nor be less inclined, by delay, to bring it in due time before the French public."

When M. Guizot had become Prime Minister, Mr. Sparks feared that his arduous public duties might wholly prevent the fulfilment of the plan agreed upon; but in a letter of Nov. 6, 1830, he expresses a hope that the work will still come out under Guizot's superintendence, if he cannot himself prepare the edition.

Writing to his friend, Mr. George Ticknor, then in Europe, under date of Aug. 7, 1837, Mr. Sparks says: —

"Washington's Writings are now completed. . . . I think I told you that M. Guizot agreed with me to take charge of a translation. . . . It is not likely that he would now have any thoughts of such an undertaking. Considering what has been done, however, it seems proper that he should be consulted before any steps are taken. . . . M. de Tocqueville might possibly, &c. . . . I consider the business in your hands, precisely as it was in Germany, and according to the tenor of the letter that I wrote to you on the subject two years ago."

The letter here referred to, under date of June 22, 1835, was as follows: —

"When I was in Europe, seven years ago, I engaged Professor Saalfeld to translate a selection from Washington's Writings, for the German press, and M. Guizot to do the same for the French. Saalfeld is dead; and Guizot has become a politician and a Minister of State, and therefore the arrangement with each of these gentlemen has failed. I have not written to Guizot since the work was put to press, knowing that his public employments would not allow him to have any thing to do with such an enterprise. Will you undertake to find, &c. . . . It is desirable that both in Germany and France the work should be in the hands of a person of some literary eminence, who will be responsible for the translation, and put his name to it; and the translator should be perfectly master of the English language.

"It was the opinion of Saalfeld and of Guizot, that a selection extending to about four volumes, including the Life, would meet with a ready demand in the German and French market. I do not look for any pecuniary profit. The name of Washington will, undoubtedly, put it into the heads of publishers, after the work is completed, to procure a translation of parts; and all I aim at is to anticipate such a plan, and to secure a judicious selection and faithful translation, which can be done only by a specific agreement, previously made, with persons in whom full confidence can be placed."

As is well known, M. Guizot performed substantially the work that had been assigned to him. In a letter to him under date of May 25, 1840, Mr. Sparks assures him of his "entire satisfaction with the manner in which the work has been executed, and of the great pleasure I have derived from the perusal of your Introduction. The character of Washington is drawn with striking force and accuracy."*

The French publication appeared, in 1840, in six volumes octavo; and, on the European Continent and in Canada, continues to be so widely known as "Guizot's Washington," as to leave Mr. Sparks's prime services in it to be recognized only by its more intelligent and inquisitive readers. The name of Mr. Sparks was strangely omitted from the titlepage,—a singular fact, never yet accounted for. It contains a translation of Mr. Sparks's Life of Washington, and of a selection from the Correspondence and Writings, preceded by an Introduction "Upon the Influence and Character of Washington in the Revolution of the United States of America," by M. Guizot himself,—a much admired and most felicitously wrought production.† The "Avertissement des Éditeurs" implies the engagement of more than one editorial mind or hand. The principle followed in the selection of matter from the whole original work, was to put before the French reader, first, such of its contents as concerned the relations of France with the United States in the revolutionary epoch, and the glorious share which France had had in it; second, such as developed the policy of Washington in the subsequent establishment of the government; third, such as revealed the character, the spirit, and the manners of the illustrious patriot.

While his great labor was in progress, Mr. Sparks was engaged upon several other large works, some of which were so nearly related to it and to each other, as to prove mutually helpful in guiding his researches and in securing a common thoroughness in their execution. A Resolution of Congress of March 27, 1818, had provided for the publication and distribution of certain secret journals and other documents of our revolutionary period, including the "Foreign Correspondence of the Congress of the United States, from the first meeting thereof, down to the date of the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, &c., . . . except such parts of the said Foreign Correspondence as the President of the United States may deem it improper, at this time, to publish." This correspondence was secret and confidential. Letters arriving from American agents abroad during the Revolution, were read in Congress, and referred, with instructions, to a Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs. The papers, which had accumulated to a considerable mass, were committed to the Department of State of the Federal Government, and though accessible to proper persons, for proper purposes, had remained in manuscript. They were known to contain matter which it might be unwise, perhaps scandalous, to divulge. The Committee of Five, appointed on the 29th of November, 1775, to correspond with the friends of America abroad, called, till April 17, 1777, the *Committee of Secret Correspondence*, and afterwards, till the selection, Aug. 10, 1781, of R. R. Livingston, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the *Committee of Foreign Affairs*, — kept a separate journal, called the *Secret Journal*, in which were recorded the proceedings of Congress, in their department. This journal had been published, in conformity with the above-mentioned resolution, before Mr. Sparks turned his attention to the subject. On the 3d of January, 1827, after an examination of the papers and an estimate of the labor involved, and under an intelligent sense of the importance of the undertaking, Mr. Sparks wrote to President John Quincy Adams, offering to be the medium of carrying out the Resolution of Congress, by publishing the Diplomatic Correspondence, at his own risk, the Government being pledged, by the resolution, to the purchase of a thousand copies. The President was fully aware of the delicate, and possibly mischievous, complications in which the characters and repute and relations of some individuals might be involved by any ill-advised dealing with those papers. The dissensions and bickerings between some of our foreign agents having caused much trouble, while they were in progress, had left behind them an inheritance of acrimony which it was unwise to stir anew. He felt that it would be his duty, as in fact it had been defined by Congress, to read or examine the papers, and judge in each critical case between publication and suppression. After interviews and a full understanding with Mr. Sparks, however, he assured himself that he could safely trust in the historian's editorial discretion. A contract was therefore signed, May 21, 1827, by Mr. Sparks and Henry Clay, Secretary of State; by the terms of which the copying of the papers was to be done at the expense of the Government, Mr. Sparks translating into English such documents as were in any other language, receiving four hundred dollars on each volume for editorial supervision, and binding himself to furnish Congress one thousand sets of the complete series at two dollars and an eighth per volume. He was at liberty to print as many more copies as he pleased. Mr. Sparks considered the contract a very valuable one, and on its profits he largely relied during his labors.

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* When Mr. Sparks was President of Harvard University, he transmitted to M. Guizot, with a letter dated Sept. 8, 1852, a diploma for the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, conferred on him by the University.

† This Introduction, admirably translated by the Hon. George S. Hillard, was published in Boston.

The first four volumes of the Correspondence appeared in 1829, the remaining eight in 1830, under the following title: "The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution. Being the Letters of Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, John Adams, John Jay, Arthur Lee, William Lee, Ralph Izard, Francis Dana, William Carmichael, Henry Laurens, John Laurens, M. Dumas, and others, concerning the Foreign Relations of the United States during the whole Revolution: together with the Letters in Reply from the Secret Committee of Congress, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs; also, the entire Correspondence of the French Ministers, Gerard and Luzerne, with Congress. Edited by Jared Sparks."

Between contracting for this editorial labor and the publication of its results, occurred, as has been stated, Mr. Sparks's visit to Europe. His researches in the public offices of England and France had put him in possession of materials which might have been most fitly used to illustrate and explain the contents of these interesting volumes. But he interpreted the Resolution of Congress as not assigning him any liberty of commentary or addition. He has, however, introduced valuable foot-notes, which greatly assist the reader. To his own apparent surprise, he found that there was but little in the papers which he needed to suppress, as in fact they had been designed, for the most part at least, for the publicity of a reading in Congress. He was careful to guard against the renewing of old contentions. I am not aware that exceptions have been taken by any to the general commendation of his wisdom and fidelity in this work. Such collections of historic documents relating to the formation of our nationality, overlaid as they are by later public papers, must still be kept where they can be easily referred to.

Soon after he had perfected his arrangements for his larger works, Mr. Sparks brought to completion a volume, the subject of which had greatly engaged his feelings, connected as it was with a fond wish of his own in earlier years. This was, "The Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveller, comprising Selections from his Journals and Correspondence." It was entered for copyright, and published in 1827; a second edition appearing in 1829. Dr. Isaac Ledyard, of New York, had collected many materials for the purpose (which he did not carry out) of writing the Biography of this enterprising youth, who died at Cairo, in 1788, in his thirty-eighth year. These collected materials Mr. Sparks obtained, and procured others by his own efforts. Through a friend, he interested Lafayette in his object, and obtained from him valuable aid in the Biography. With the Lives written by Mr. Sparks afterwards for his own Library of American Biography, this work is a very pleasing illustration of the fitness of his method and style for engaging heartily the interest of his readers. In a letter which he wrote in Paris, January, 1841, to Henry Ledyard, Esq., our Chargé d'Affaires, he gives an account of a visit he had just made to the Cemetery of Pere la Chaise, to examine some of the monuments, with the view of selecting a design for a memorial to the young traveller, to be set up at Cairo. Mr. Sparks draws out a design, with measurements and a proposed inscription.*

Immediately on his return from Europe, in May, 1829, Mr. Sparks planned a publication intended for an annual series, and which was for many years afterwards regularly issued under the charge of successive editors, though his own multiplied tasks compelled him to dispose of it after its first year. This was "The American Almanac," a vehicle of political and statistical information concerning the States and the Union. The idea of it occurred to him in June, and the volume was published Dec. 1, 1829, finding an immediate appreciation, as indicated by the rapid sale of three thousand copies. His friend, Professor Farrar, prepared the astronomical portion of the contents, and was with him joint owner of the work. The obtaining of the other contents, with due detail and accuracy, required of Mr. Sparks a vast deal of correspondence, as the official and statistical matters compressed in it were not furnished to the public as fully and freely then as in these days. The next year Mr. Sparks disposed of his share in the enterprise to Professor Farrar, who afterwards transferred it to the late Dr. J. E. Worcester.

Another substantial work, requiring considerable editorial oversight and illustration, beside the gathering of the materials, was published by this busy historical scholar, in 1832, in three octavo volumes, under the following title: "The Life of

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* Mr. Sparks endeavored, through the aid of Mr. Christopher Hughes Long, our Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, and Mr. Schroeder, our Minister Resident there, in 1855, to trace a portrait of Ledyard, painted in London, in 1788, by the Swedish artist Breda, which Colonel Gibbs of New York had seen in Breda's gallery in Stockholm in 1801. The search was unsuccessful.

A German translation of the "Life of Ledyard" was published at Leipsic, in 1829.

Gouverneur Morris, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers, detailing Events in the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and in the Political History of the United States." Of course, in going over the same ground in the preparation of several works covering the same period of history, and relating the views and the agencies of leading contemporaries, Mr. Sparks found each of these undertakings helpful to a successful dealing with the others. Indeed, his researches for thoroughly qualifying himself for the task were exhaustive. He attained a skill and method which, applied to the communication of the knowledge he gathered from all available sources, assure his readers that he may be followed with implicit confidence alike in his exposition of an intricate subject and in his judicial comments on a contested matter. Chief-Justice Marshall, on receiving from him some of the volumes of the Writings of Washington, as they came successively from the press, complimented him warmly upon his editorial resources and success, instancing particularly the matter in the Appendix to Vol. V., on Conway's Cabal.

Having in view a service in the department of Historical Biography, which should afford interest and instruction to the largest number and variety of readers, Mr. Sparks projected that series of publications which is known as "The Library of American Biography." His plan allowed for an indefinite series of volumes, four to be published in a year, so long as he could conveniently be responsible for the editorial work, and find co-operation from such writers as he sought to engage with him. His material was substantially inexhaustible, and he knew that the project, if judiciously executed, would at once gratify a popular taste, and pay a debt of posterity to many unrequited friends and benefactors of mankind on this continent. He thus announced his object: "It is the design of this work to add something to the stock of our native literature in the department of Biography. Its plan embraces the lives of all persons who have been distinguished in America, from the date of its first discovery to the present time. Such a scheme, if faithfully carried through on the scale here assumed, would embrace a perfect history of the country, of its social and political progress, its arts, sciences, literature, and improvements of every kind; since these receive their impulse and direction from a comparatively few eminent individuals, whose achievements of thought and action it is the province of the biographer to commemorate." The editor intended to write but a few of the Biographies himself, and in fact he wrote even fewer of them than he had purposed, as he found many coadjutors of whose competent qualifications he was glad to avail himself, as securing a desirable variety in the style of the contributions. The work appeared in two series of volumes, — the first of ten, published in 1834–1838; the second of fifteen, published in 1844–1848. The first suggestion of the plan to his mind is noted in his journal, under date of July 20, 1832, thus: "I have been thinking of a project of a new publication, to be entitled 'A Library of American Biography, &c.'" His own contributions are Lives of Ethan Allen, Arnold, La Salle, Pulaski, Ribault, Marquette, Charles Lee, and a new edition of Ledyard. The two series contain nearly sixty Biographies.

Before the publication of this work was completed, he proposed another series of volumes, running up in their titles and subjects to more than sixty. This plan he communicated to the writer, in a letter dated in March, 1847, asking co-operation in a most comprehensive scheme. He calls the projected series a "Library of American History," and he writes out at length the topics proposed for it. The list includes, in its first division, Histories of the French and English Discoveries and Enterprises in North America; of the Early Settlements; of the New-England Confederation; of the North-American Indians; of the Indian Wars; of the French Missions to the Indians; of the English Missions to the Indians; of Canada and Nova Scotia; of French Wars in America; of Florida and the Spaniards; of the Swedes in America, and of the Huguenots and Acadians. Then follow Histories of each of the States of the Union separately, and of the early settlements in the West, constituting the second division of the series. The third embraces Histories of the Revolution; of the Confederation; of the Insurrection in Massachusetts; of the Insurrection in Pennsylvania, and of the Administrations of each of the Presidents separately, including, under that of Madison, the War of 1812. The fourth division includes Histories of the Foreign Relations of the United States; of their Commerce; of the Navy and Maritime Warfare; of Manufactures; of Finances; of Paper Money and Banking; of Legislation; of the Judiciary; of the Fisheries, and of Internal Commerce. The fifth division includes Histories of Education in the United States; of Literature; of Arts and Inventions; of Sciences, and of Agriculture. The sixth is significantly devoted to a History of Slavery in the United States, as if that subject, not admitting of classification, might stand by itself. The seventh and last division includes the titles of Histories of the Methodists in the United States; of the Presbyterians; of the Baptists; of the Congregationalists; Episcopalians; Quakers; Moravians; and Shakers; and of Witchcraft, of which last, undoubtedly, Mr. Sparks would have recognized a modern continuation.

Such is the list of subjects displayed upon a single sheet of paper now before me. The author and deviser of this plan designed that each subject should be committed to the individual person in the United States best qualified to treat it with ability, thoroughness, impartiality, and fidelity, and that when the undertaking was thoroughly matured, with the help of editorial oversight, four volumes should be published in a year. One feels at first as if he had added largely to his knowledge simply by reading over the list of subjects; but the second thought is not so self-flattering. The late Mr. James Brown, so honored among us for his virtues, and for his generous patronage of authors and of literature, was a hearty approver of this project, and would have nobly co-operated in it. As a whole, the scheme stands unappropriated, inviting the zeal and effort of any one who partakes of the editorial qualities of Mr. Sparks, and can summon and guide coadjutors as he could. Some of the subjects on this list have already engaged to good purpose several of our associates and others in our community.

The following title stands to represent another of the great toils of Mr. Sparks's manhood, and all the best characteristics of his laborious and conscientious literary work for his contemporaries and for all posterity: "The Works of Benjamin Franklin: containing several Political and Historical Tracts not included in any former edition, and many Letters, official and private, not hitherto published; with Notes, and a Life of the Author." Here are ten solid octavo volumes, of which that portion of the matter that was then for the first time put into print, was procured by unwearied diligence and extended inquiry. The editorial illustration of the whole in notes and appendices, it may fairly be affirmed, enhances the value of these rich memorials of the American philosopher. Mr. Sparks had already published, in 1833, a small volume of Franklin's "Familiar Letters," most of the contents of which were then, for the first time, put into print, having been largely of his own collecting. Led on from that beginning, and keeping a larger object in view while gathering the materials of his other works, he succeeded in bringing together, from a strange variety of hiding-places and repositories, from five to six hundred original letters and other unprinted papers of Dr. Franklin. The sketch and summary given in his preface, make any but a clear-headed reader bewildered in the perusal of its comprehensive researches, analysis, and distribution of thanks among those to whom he had been indebted. The publication of the volumes began in 1836, and ended in 1840. Under date of Feb. 24, 1840, the journal gives us this entry: "Sent to press the last sheet of ten volumes; the Life of Franklin, four years in preparation. A very laborious undertaking, of which I had not formed a proper estimate. In fact the materials accumulated on my hands, greatly beyond what I had anticipated, making ten volumes instead of six or seven, as I had supposed. I have spared no pains to collect all the known writings of Franklin, and to write notes on such parts as required explanation. In the printing, also, Mr. Folsom bestowed the greatest care and accuracy, having previously read all the proofs. On the whole, few works of such magnitude have been executed with more fidelity, both as to literary and mechanical supervision." The most self-complacent record I have found from this modest pen.

It would be unpardonable to omit here a grateful revelation which Mr. Sparks has left in his journal, as follows: "Franklin's Autobiography was the book which first roused my mental energies, such as they are, and directed them to nobler objects than they seemed destined by fortune or the fates to be engaged in. It prompted me to resolutions, and gave me strength to adhere to them. It inspired me with an ardor which I had not felt before, and which never afterwards forsook me. It taught me that circumstances have not a sovereign control over the mind."

Mr. Sparks's residence at Cambridge, his high intellectual culture, and his eminent reputation as a scholar and a man of letters, very naturally prompted the desire on the part of President Quincy, and the other members of the Corporation, as well as of the Faculty, that he should be connected with the college in some office of instruction. His former rank as a student, and his services as a tutor, had not been forgotten. It appears from his journal that, in June, 1836, the President had proffered for his acceptance the Alford Professorship of Natural Theology, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity. For reasons satisfactory to himself, and which had weight in themselves, Mr. Sparks declined the proffer. In fact it must be admitted that he was not specially qualified by taste, habits of mind, or adaptation of powers, to an academic office which would require of him an active participation in the work of elementary instruction; and he had a positive disinclination to a personal share in the method of administering college discipline. His sympathy for young men was warm, his tolerance was large, his indulgence would cover much which sterner and more experienced mentors might perhaps wisely visit with punishment. It was his fond theory that kindness, concession, and appeals to their self-respect and better feelings, were the most effective agencies for influencing such a class of young men as were seeking and enjoying the opportunities of a liberal education. He was especially out of sympathy with the method of ascertaining and assigning rank and college honors by a scale of marks, with rules for deductions. He was persuaded that, by this method, those who were gifted with genius and other mental facilities received an additional favoritism; while the industry and persevering efforts of the dull and slow of faculty failed of due consideration. His friend, Mr. Edmund Dwight, was earnestly desirous that he should assume, as Secretary, the direction of the Normal-school project, which owed so much to the liberality and zeal of the former. The solicitation resulted in Mr. Sparks's becoming a member of the Board of Education. He devoted himself to the duties of this responsible office from 1837, till he resigned it in a letter which he addressed, while in Paris, Dec. 30, 1840, to Governor Davis, of Massachusetts. He says, in his journal, "The Board is endowed with twenty thousand dollars. One main object is, to enlist the people in this experiment, so that the legislature may be induced to make a permanent establishment of Normal schools throughout the State. It is desirable, therefore, that the people should, in the first instance, join in the undertaking so far, at least, as to contribute some part of the expense. Thus, should the experiment prove successful, the members of the legislature, receiving their impressions from the people, will be the more ready to carry out and complete the design." (September, 1837.)

After various interviews and solicitations from President Quincy, referred to in his journal, Mr. Sparks was induced to accept, under conditions largely of his own suggestion, the McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History in the college. He performed duties in this office from February, 1839, till he entered upon the Presidency of the college, in 1849. The terms of his understanding with the Corporation allowed him to do the work of his professorship by giving instruction in American History, and by delivering lectures to the junior and senior classes afterward. His researches took him to Europe a second time while holding his professorship. In his instructions he used Botta's History for a text-book, because, as he writes, "I can procure no other." His object he defines to be, "to communicate instruction in all the exercises; and not merely to discipline the students in the habit of study, which has been done sufficiently in the early part of their college-life." He understood that he was to have no share in government and discipline. "Mr. Quincy said it was not proposed that I should have any thing to do in the way of teaching by recitation from books. Occasional examination and lecturing were proposed. For any thing else I am not to be responsible. Let the tutors drill the boys." To such of the students as were engaged by any special interest in the subject, or were mature enough in mind to appreciate his carefully prepared lectures, the opportunities enjoyed under his instruction were of great value. In 1841, Professor Sparks edited, for the use of his classes, an American reprint of Professor Smyth's "Lectures on Modern History," a work of which he had a high opinion. An interesting Preface, and a list of books on American History, were furnished by the editor for this text-book.

It was intimated, in an early page of this Memoir, that political office had been within the easy reach of Mr. Sparks. Some references made to this subject, in his journals, may be copied here: —

Under date of Sept. 27, 1834, he writes: "Mr. —— called, and asked if I would consent to be nominated by the Whig party, as a candidate for Congress. I declined, for the same reason as in a former case. I am persuaded it is not expedient for me to go out of my present walk to enter into the turmoils of public life. I think I can do more for the public good in my present pursuits."

Again, under date of Oct. 1, 1838: "For several days I have been pressed, very strongly, by several gentlemen of first respectability, to allow myself to be put in nomination as a candidate for member of Congress, for the Middlesex District. Four years ago I was solicited for the same object. I then declined on grounds which I thought sufficiently conclusive. I have not since changed my mind. My long study of the history of the country, and my extensive researches into its resources, have qualified me, as I think, for a field of usefulness of much more importance. Should life and health be spared, I hope, and have some confidence in the belief, that the fruit of these researches and the result of my future labors will not disappoint my own anticipations, nor be without benefit to the public."

And once more, Feb. 28, 1839: "Received a letter written, at the instance of certain Abolitionists, for the purpose of ascertaining from me what are my views on the subject of the abolition of slavery, with the ultimate view of soliciting me to accede to a nomination as candidate for Representative to Congress in this district. See my letter in reply."

On the first occasion, referred to in these extracts, in which he was solicited to allow himself to be a candidate for political office, even an earlier request of the same sort is referred to. The office proposed was that which had been filled by Hon. Edward Everett, who confidently expressed his belief that Mr. Sparks would have been chosen by a large vote. I have read his "letter in reply" to his correspondent. The sentiments of it are such as may well be inferred from the nobleness of his personal character, and the nationality of his views on subjects which concerned amicable relations between different parts of the country and fidelity to constitutional obligations. He expresses a strong abhorrence of slavery, and an ardent desire to have the nation's stain removed, and the wrong redressed. He would, if in office, strive to banish it from the seat of government, and to forbid the traffic in slaves between the States. He did not sympathize with some of the measures of the organized Abolitionists.

Had he entered upon political life, it certainly would not have been to his gain in personal comfort, or even in any extensive opportunities of enlarging his fame. As a man whose convictions and opinions, as well as tastes and sympathies, led him to stand clear of all party relations, he would have found himself, in that period of intense political turmoil, compelled to be counted on the side to which he did not morally belong. Those of us who have looked from a distance upon the Congressional strifes of the last quarter of a century, have had divided hearts and inconsistent wishes concerning our own representation in those stormy agitations. We are constantly expressing our regretful laments that we have not such men as Mr. Sparks to speak and vote for us. Yet we have sympathized with and confirmed the distaste and repugnance of those whom most we love, honor, and trust, if the lot threatens to fall on them.

On the 21st of May, 1839, Mr. Sparks married Miss Mary Crowninshield, daughter of Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, an eminent merchant of Salem, and colleague Senator of the United States with Hon. Daniel Webster. He made another visit to Europe in 1840, landing at Portsmouth on the 23d of July, and arriving at Boston, on his return, on the 19th of April, 1841.

The Hon. Edward Everett having resigned the Presidency of Harvard College, in February, 1849, after a very devoted and faithful, though brief, administration of three years, the Corporation chose Dr. Sparks (he had received the degree of LL.D. from Dartmouth College in 1841, and from Harvard in 1843), to be his successor in that office. It was rather with reluctance, and with no enthusiastic expectations of any eminent success or of much personal satisfaction in discharging its duties, that Dr. Sparks consented to assume it. All that the approbation of the community at large, the fond appreciation of the immediate friends of the College, the respect of the Faculty and the love of the Students could contribute, as motives to induce him to accept the honor offered to him, was needed to persuade him to charge himself with its responsibilities. It had vexations as well as exactions. The conditions and relations under which, by usage and the College statutes, the President was expected to administer the institution, were not in all respects such as he would himself have chosen; and he knew that its routine duties would burden him with details not always attractive.

It was therefore in perfect consistency with the frankness and conscientiousness so characteristic of him, that, before accepting the proffered trust with its dignities and its responsibilities, he communicated to the Fellows of the College what would be his own views of the nature of his duties in it, and his distinct understanding that certain modifications should be made in the official labors of the Presidency as it had been administered by his immediate predecessors. His intent and purpose would be faithfully to perform all the duties which he should assume; but he was free to covenant beforehand that what was expected of him and assigned to him should be such as his ability, his time, and his best judgment would enable him to discharge. In a letter to President Quincy, in October, 1838, concerning the duties of the Professorship, he had written as follows: —

> "In justice to myself, I ought to say, that it has never been my habit to engage with indifference or remissness in any undertaking. I should hope a connection with the College would not have a tendency to generate such a habit. If a sense of duty is not enough, there is the additional motive of reputation as affected by the success of my labors and by the prosperity of the institution, which I believe I should feel as strongly as any man."

The following extract from his letter to the Corporation, dated Cambridge, Jan. 15, 1849, illustrates what has just been said. After assenting to accept the Presidency, if his appointment should be confirmed by the Overseers, he writes: —

> "In giving this assent, I deem it proper to repeat, as constituting in part the ground on which it is founded, what I have more fully explained in my interviews with the several members of the Corporation. It is known that I have been for some time engaged in a literary work, which is now in progress and which it is my purpose to complete. I believe that such an undertaking can be in no respect inconsistent with the interests of the College, and, while the appropriate duties of the President are faithfully executed, I shall consider myself at liberty, without incurring a suspicion of neglect, to devote to it such portions of time as I may find at my disposal.
>
> "Again, the details of the President's office have by usage gradually become so numerous and burdensome, that I confess I should not hesitate to decline the honorable station you have proffered to me, if it involved the necessity of executing, or even superintending, these details as they now exist. I do not think that the mind and energies of the President should be exhausted by the perpetual recurrence and accumulation of labors of this kind, which may be as promptly and more properly performed by others. Knowing, as I do, the disposition and practice of all the members of the Faculty scrupulously to perform every duty incumbent on them, and in such a manner as in their judgment will best contribute to the internal prosperity of the College, I cannot doubt that they will cheerfully unite in devising some method, either of diminishing the number of these details, or assigning the execution of them to various hands. I will add only, that, from the views which I believe the Corporation generally to entertain on this subject, I rely on their countenance and sanction of any arrangement which may be thought practicable and reasonable for attaining the object desired, with due reference to the judgment and experience of the Faculty."

The Corporation cordially acceded to, and took measures to initiate and make effective, such modifications of his administrative and executive duty as Dr. Sparks desired. In council with the Faculty, who were in sympathy with his views, certain duties were assigned to a Regent under his direction, and to class tutors; and the conditions which his judgment had dictated were fully complied with.

Having been elected on the 1st of February, 1849, he was inaugurated on the 20th of June following. The exercises on that occasion were of marked interest, and much enthusiasm was excited and displayed. Especially did the undergraduates engage in them with hearty feeling and with hopeful anticipations. Knowing what he had been, and divining, further than they had experienced, what he would be, they welcomed him as one who would preside over them with a considerate and gentle rule. They had become attached to him by his sympathetic and indulgent spirit, manifested to many among them in private as well as in official intercourse. His love and admiration for Kirkland might well be expected to decide the spirit of his administration, as most happily they did.

In his Inaugural Address, he indicated the purposes and aims by which his course would be guided. No man could more thoroughly appreciate and more fitly express in sentiment and language, the memories, traditions, and symbolic significance of what there was of ceremony associated with the services of an Inauguration at Cambridge. The list of the College Presidents, covering more than two centuries of our now lengthening history, is eminently suggestive and indicative of the course and method of the development of the higher interests of culture in our community. One who, with loving interest and painstaking research, has acquainted himself with the history of that now venerable institution, can stand on a spot which brings its halls within his view, and by a swift process of the mind can recall the wilderness scenery of the past, and plant there the little brick structure, "The Indian School" of the Fathers. Steadily, and step by step, as the natural wilderness has yielded to the labor of the hand, and intelligence, enterprise, piety, and expanding and deepening benevolence have gathered and dispensed the materials of a nobler wealth, that College has been the deposit of all the gains of passing years. Its treasury, first endowed by an exiled minister, a graduate from the elder Cambridge, received its earlier gifts of pewter, corn, and other "country produce," and has since added year by year the contributions and bequests of the affluent, the largest of them coming from those who had failed of, rather than enjoyed, its kindly nurture. A new department, a costlier apparatus, an enlarged Faculty, and a broader foundation, successively marking progress, have proved that the College has kept even pace with the resources and demands of those whose cherished heritage it has been through changing generations.*

The list of the names on any roll of those who have held high official trusts in Massachusetts, — magisterial, judicial, clerical, or academical, — will generally show the purpose of those who elected them to recognize the new demands of differing times, and to secure the services of men most likely to satisfy them. The list of the College Presidents is an illustration of this wise and expedient course. In a few paragraphs in the opening of his Address, Dr. Sparks condensed such retrospective historical references as were in harmony with the occasion, and then he presented to his auditors views and convictions of his own, which received a profound impressiveness from his earnest statement of them, and from their own weight of wisdom. He started from the axiom that popular education is the result of free institutions, and opens wide the doors of culture and intelligence to every individual. The means for securing the blessing form dependent links in a chain of graded schools, academies, and colleges. Our colleges are strictly of American origin, organization, and growth, and, as such, they have some peculiar characteristics in common, though, as he thought, there were too many of them. A collegiate course should be arranged with reference to occupying the intercalary years between early and strictly professional studies. Dr. Sparks affirmed that he should have regard to the highest common good of all the students, and that he should especially aim to help and encourage the dull, the slow, and the ill-prepared ones among them, rather than to advance and perfect a few favored by genius and opportunities. Without wholly rejecting or disapproving the system of elective studies, — allowing students early in their course to choose their favorite branches, — he emphasized the importance to all of a broad foundation for all later acquisitions, which should include an initiatory acquaintance in the languages and in science. He closed with a cheering style of address to the young men, which at once assured them of what his brief administration proved, that, as they used to express it, "The President was on their side."

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* "O Relic and Type of our ancestors' worth,
That has long kept their memory warm!
First flower of their wilderness! Star of their night,
Calm rising through change and through storm!"
Dr. Gilman's Ode at the 2d Centennial of Harvard.

His was a brief administration, hardly long enough for the full development and experimental trial of any peculiarity in the purpose, aims, or methods of the President. I believe it was the judgment of his associates in the Faculty, that, under the modifications which, with their advice and co-operation founded upon his previous understanding with the Corporation he had introduced into the duties of his office, he discharged them with a scrupulous and conscientious fidelity, throwing into them a heartiness of interest, a wise discretion, and a practical efficiency of administration. He was equally considerate of the wishes and convictions of his associates, and of his own independent responsibility. On one occasion, he found himself at variance with their unanimous decision on some matter which had engaged their deliberations and their votes. With good-natured persistency he refused to act by the decision, saying that he would bring the matter before the Corporation. Subsequently, however, the members of the Faculty accepted his judgment and yielded their own. His administration had many strong points.

His course at the outset was not a mere effort to throw off work, but the result of faithful, elaborate, and judicious planning with reference to the highest interests of the College. Dr.

Kirkland had been unparalleled in the paternal element of discipline, but he had little capacity for business. His non-systematic administration sufficed for small classes and a limited board of teachers, — most of them nearly his coevals, with but few extra-mural intersets, — the now numerous professional departments not having then gathered around the original academic nucleus of the University. President Quincy instituted a system so perfect that the College still lives by it, as it might do for a century to come. But he managed its details himself with a punctilious and unwearied fidelity and capacity of oversight, in part born in him, and for the rest practised in his conspicuous devotion to his former municipal duties in Boston. Yet even with his early hours and his indefatigable industry, his task required the exclusive absorption of all other occupations in it. President Everett attempted to unite the methods of both his predecessors, and he would have done so had it lain within the ability of any one man. But it was more than the strongest or the best man could accomplish. Dr. Sparks, as a member of the Faculty, a fond lover of Kirkland, an admiring friend of Quincy, saw this. He revived, or rather created, the Regent's office (for, before, it had been a mere name); he arranged, with great skill and precision, the distinction between its duties and those of the President; and, in fact, made the office precisely what it has continued to be: the balance-wheel in the complicated machinery of the College. In so doing, he made the President's office what it had not been before, — an office whose functions, many of them still trivial, all had more or less direct bearing on the education or moral well-being of the students.

This division of the former labors of the Presidency yet left to the President, not indeed numerical calculations for fixing rank, but still a great deal of minute, embarrassing, perplexing detail; and one prime quality of Mr. Sparks's administration was his close and patient attention to the smallest details which came within his province. He knew well the conditions of such fidelity.

For genial kindness, generosity to poor students, sympathy with the struggling, perseverance in the endeavor to encourage, reform, and save those who came under discipline, he stood close by the side of the revered predecessor, who had been his early friend. In this regard, Mr. Sparks could not have a higher praise. Among his many letters of information, advice, and sympathy, written in reply to young men all over the country, who had in view preparation for entering the College, I find striking tokens of his warm-hearted interest in the case of those embarrassed by indigence. From one of these I venture to quote the following: —

> "Your case is similar to my own at your age. I was compelled to struggle with many difficulties; but by a firm resolution and a steady perseverance I contrived to make my way through them."

President Sparks was earnestly desirous of extending the privileges of the University to the greatest number; and whether this be regarded as the wisest policy or not, it was openly his policy, and one which he pursued with great singleness of purpose.

In every department of the University, and especially in his intercourse with the students, the power of his character made itself profoundly felt. His whole past life — mental, moral, spiritual — went into his common words and deeds. It was felt that whatever he did was done with soul and strength, with careful thought and strenuous purpose. He alone, of all the Presidents of Harvard, was in the habit of attending recitations and lectures. He made it a rule to attend at least one exercise, sometimes several, each term, in each department, in each class, and with every teacher: attending, too, with eyes and ears open, and as one participating in the exercise, and always with the expression of approval, or with suggestions as to what might be amended.

His voluminous and carefully copied correspondence, methodically arranged, is evidence of the industry, patience, fidelity, and wisdom, with which he administered all the departments of the University, informing himself of the exact condition of each, proposing methods and details of improvement, introducing or perfecting system, and bringing himself into intimate personal relations with every officer and teacher. His patronage, often asked where it might not be granted, was respectfully withheld or cordially bestowed.

It was during Mr. Sparks's administration that the Legislature of the Commonwealth was prompted to undertake measures aiming for an alteration of the organic law and the charter rights of the President and Fellows of the College, and, when this intention was successfully withstood, reconstructed the Board of Overseers. The former measure, which was held to be wholly unwarranted by those whose vested rights it threatened, while it also was regarded as of mischievous tendency as it bore upon the best interests of the institution, was successfully resisted by the plea and argument of a most carefully prepared "Memorial" addressed to the Legislature. The Journal of the President, in December, 1851, records his being diligently engaged in preparing this Memorial. He credits the Treasurer, Mr. Eliot, with furnishing him notes and financial facts for this admirable document, and his associate and our associate, the late excellent and honored Mr. Charles G. Loring, as writing the legal argument in the third part of the paper. The effect of this Memorial obviated all necessity of the course pursued by Dartmouth College, which called out the first conspicuous display of Mr. Webster's powers.

True to his taste and conscience, and his natural and well trained instincts as an historian, one of the President's first labors was to subject the College archives to a thorough examination. He found important and very valuable manuscript papers, which had been kept in loose parcels, without any methodical distribution or arrangement. Neglect and frequent removals from place to place had thrown them into disorder, and some of them had been mislaid or lost. He wrote to the families of former Presidents and officers of the College, asking a search for other College documents. Gathering them from all sources, he arranged and classified these precious papers, and, having them disposed and bound in substantial volumes, he provided for them a fire-proof deposit. Of this grateful but laborious undertaking, which was prompted by him, and approved by a vote of the Corporation, he had the satisfaction of communicating the completion in a letter to that body, dated Dec. 23, 1852. This Collection of College Papers is in 28 folio and 35 quarto volumes.

He suffered at intervals from illness affecting his spirits and incapacitating him for official labor, though in the main a man of vigor. Under the infliction of a severe cough, attended with sharp pain, he found a change of place and a release from responsibility so necessary, that he spent from September to November, 1850, in easy travelling. With the care and sympathy of his life-long friend, Mr. Charles Folsom, as his reliance, he visited some old familiar scenes in Virginia and Maryland, and returned to his work much benefited. On Saturday, March 23, 1851, as he was walking to Cambridge from Boston, over West-Boston Bridge, he was run over by two men driving in a chaise. His collar-bone was broken and one of the ribs was severely injured. Two students, on their way, were fortunately soon by his side to give their ready aid to their beloved President. He was confined to his house five weeks. When first he appeared again at morning prayers in the Chapel, the recognition and welcome which greeted him from the students, and the mode in which they manifested their regard and veneration, touched him very deeply. The effects of this injury upon his right arm were permanent. Connected with neuralgia, they disabled him from all the work which he loved to do. He never fully recovered. Indeed, he never fully recovered his former facility at the upright desk at which he had wrought so laboriously with his pen. In his letters to his correspondents, he apologizes for resorting to another hand than his own. His rich and voluminous collection of manuscript historical materials — to which he continued to make costly and far-sought additions — occupied the laden shelves and drawers around him, and it required all the patience and sweetness of his well-trained spirit to see it ever soliciting his willing mind while the impediment of the physical frame stood between.

Having thus been twice compelled to suspend the performance of the duties of an office which he felt that he ought not to hold while he could not meet the daily responsibility, President Sparks was satisfied that the state of his health justified him in resigning that office when the fourth year of his administration should close. On the 30th of October, 1852, he addressed to the Corporation a letter of resignation, assigning for it the reason above stated, expressing his satisfaction for the uninterrupted harmony of all his intercourse and relations with them, and thanking his associates in the Faculty for their friendliness and fidelity. The Corporation accepted his resignation with regret, conveying to him their gratitude and respect, assuring him that in his short term there has been "a spirit of progress visible, which will not be without effect on the future; and amid our regret at the loss of your co-operation, we would not be unmindful of the good you have accomplished, and the improvements you have suggested."

His resignation took effect on the 10th of February, 1853. The correspondence which passed between him and the Faculty, and the Heads of Departments in the University, indicates a heartiness of appreciation and a considerate estimate of his noble qualities, which might well solace any melancholy he might feel for the brevity of his administration. The members of the College classes, over which he had presided, sought and received from him the privilege of having his bust in marble procured at their charge for the College Library. There may it ever stand, a memory and presentment of the noble and endeared man whose features and lineaments it embodies. A library of ancient and modern books is the fitting place for the monument of one whose name is on more than six hundred thousand volumes circulating in our land.

Dr. Sparks's official correspondence, as President, closes, as copied in his Letter-Books, only to allow the renewal, with a resolved earnestness, of the evidence of his purpose to give himself to the set task of his life. He wrote constantly to his literary friends, and to high official persons in France and Spain, for further help and materials for his projected "History of the Diplomatic Relations of the United States during the War of the Revolution." The mass of documents which he continued to gather with this purpose in view, he provided, in his will, should be the inheritance of his only son, requesting an ultimate destination to the Library of Harvard College. This destination has been anticipated; and the documents, subject to the conditions of the will, are now in the Library, in a solid oaken cabinet surmounted by a bust of Dr. Sparks, the gift of Mrs. Sparks. They are either original papers, or from the originals, in various Departments of State, at home and abroad; all selected by himself, and some of them copied by his own hand. Among them are American, English, French, Dutch, and Spanish, diplomatic, official, and private papers of public men during our revolutionary period; Governor Bernard's Letter-Books, in thirteen volumes; eleven volumes of State Papers; miscellaneous papers of early colonial dates; monographs on historical subjects and characters; sketches for biographies, &c., &c. Bernard's Papers cost Dr. Sparks sixty pounds sterling, and fifteen sets of the Washington volumes, besides other expenses. The Spanish Papers were also obtained at heavy cost, and are of high value as relating to our former Spanish possessions, and as being official, as well as absolutely unique. When the collector gathered such documents through the help of others, and always at his own charges, he was careful to give the most minute and discriminating directions, and to reiterate cautions as to accuracy.

In less than a month after his release from the Presidency, Dr. Sparks, remaining still in Cambridge, and dwelling, as he had done, in his own private house, which continued to be his home to the end of his life, made another contribution to our historical literature. He edited for publication, in four octavo volumes, a selection of letters which he had long had in his hands, made from thousands which had been before him while he was preparing "Washington's Writings" for the press. This work is entitled "Correspondence of the American Revolution: being Letters of eminent Men to George Washington, from the Time of his taking command of the Army, to the end of his Presidency. Edited from the original manuscripts, by Jared Sparks." The value of this work is to be judged and appreciated by, perhaps, only a limited class of readers. But the contents of it certainly have interest, and in the editor's opinion — and the opinion of no one deserves more consideration — they were necessary to fill a gap in our historical publications. Mrs. Sparks has presented all the original autographs of this collection to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and they are now preserved in our Cabinet.

Dr. Sparks made a third voyage to Europe in 1857, travelling for health and recreation. With frequent short excursions at home, visits to friends, revival of pleasant relations with some of the oldest of them who lived at a distance, and an attendance upon the periodical meetings of societies of which he was a member, and in whose interests he continued a lively and efficient concern, he sought strength and cheer for the industrious work which still made the business of his life. He found occupation at home amid the treasures of his library, and in the neighborhood and community around him. He sustained with dignity, courtesy, and hospitality all the relations of his public and private positions. Strangers and literary visitors found him easy of access and an ever agreeable friend: modest, frank, sincere, catholic in his principles, with convictions of his own. He was constantly called upon for advice in literary projects by authors and publishers, and his stores of historical manuscripts and printed volumes were freely exposed to the use of those who could turn them to good account. He was wholly free from the jealousy and selfishness which sometimes sit in rigid guardianship, uncommunicative and unsympathetic, over materials which would be serviceable to the researches of others. His word of approbation was worth so much, that when sometimes he had written it in private, with cautious measure, to encourage an author rather than to indorse his work, a sentence from his pen would be found doing unintended service in a publisher's advertisement. I find the following significant postscript to a letter to an author, acknowledging the receipt of a book and moderately commending it: —

> "P.S. These remarks are intended merely to express my thanks and my opinion of the character of the work as far as executed, and they should not at any time be used in connection with a publisher's advertisement."

The larger portion of the letters of which he has preserved copies, written during the last twelve years of his life, are addressed to official functionaries, or to those whom he had in his employ, about researches and transcriptions of papers for his cherished scheme, to be gathered in Holland, Germany, France, Spain, and England. He himself, when last abroad with his family in 1857, was most industriously employed in making personal investigations, and in perfecting arrangements to be pursued by his agents. It is impressive to notice with what alacrity and zeal those whom he solicited or employed engaged in his service.

Reference should here be made to an occasion which incidentally illustrates Dr. Sparks's scrupulous honor in using a privilege which was more or less confidential. In the variance which arose between our Government and that of Great Britain relating to the last of our boundary questions, he had opportunity to show how carefully he had limited himself within implied conditions. Gov. Everett had temporarily in his possession a certain manuscript volume of papers then in the charge of Dr. Sparks, intrusted to him by the Marquis of Lansdowne. The following is an extract from a letter of Dr. Sparks, "To his Excellency Edward Everett," dated April 22, 1839: —

> "I am convinced that no use whatever should be made of the manuscript volume, in the affair of the boundary question. Although I understood from the Marquis of Lansdowne that the correspondence was submitted wholly to my judgment and discretion, yet he could never have supposed it possible that it would be resorted to in this controversy, or any other involving national interests. I feel bound in honor, therefore, to protect it from such an accident. For this reason I must request that you will not take a copy of any part of it, nor mention its contents with reference to this subject. You will readily perceive and value the motives which move me to make this request; I wish, also, that you would return the volume."

In a letter to Mr. Everett, then our Ambassador, dated Jan. 30, 1843, is the following inclosure, "to be shown to Lord Aberdeen": —

> "During all my researches in the British offices, I neither sought for, nor read, a single paper which touched in the remotest degree on the boundary question. The courtesy, kindness, and confidence with which I was received into the offices, make me extremely anxious to remove any impressions that I had sought for such papers."

It is pleasant to quote from a letter which he wrote to his wife, while absent on a visit to the scenes of his youth, dated Tolland, Ct., Aug. 17, 1852: —

> "Here I am, where the hills and the valleys, the running brooks and even the ancient oaks and elms, revive recollections of my boyhood. This afternoon I rode to a remote part of the town to visit the primitive schoolhouse in which I first taught 'the young idea how to shoot.' There it stands without change, answering at all points to the image in my mind, — the same little oaken seats for the urchins, the same long

writing-tables slanting from the walls, — every thing precisely as it was. And so it is with the town itself. It appears to have been stationary for thirty years, — scarcely an additional house, although a few old ones have given place to others of more recent date. But there is everywhere an appearance of comfort, of moderate but steady thrift, of tranquil contentment, which makes a most favorable impression. The people are changed. A new race has come up. I saw one old friend near the schoolhouse, who has always resided there. To-day I accidentally met Mr. Willie, a former member of Congress, who resides in this place, and who was well acquainted with your father. Before he knew of our relationship, he spoke of him in a manner that was most gratifying to me."

Of course, to one who had studied and illustrated the history of our country as Dr. Sparks had done, and who, in his knowledge of the purposes, opinions, and deeds of its patriotic founders, we may well say, surpassed all his contemporaries, the dissolution and ruin which our civil war threatened to bring upon it were matters of fearful foreboding. His intelligence, candor, and unsectional spirit fitted him to take an especially wise and fair view of its origin and its motive. Words of his own will best express his thought of it.

In a letter in reply to one from Earl Stanhope, he writes, under date of 22d July, 1862: —

"You allude to the war. I have lately returned from a long journey to Washington, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Niagara Falls. Some of the effects of this disastrous war have thus come under my notice; a war greatly to be deplored, not only by every true patriot, but by every friend of humanity. The seeds of discord were sown by our ancestors, who first brought the African race to the shores of the New World. Negro slavery is the entire cause of this war, stirring up, as it has done, the political aspirations of ambitious men, who would build upon it a power which should enable them to wield and control the destinies of the nation. These men began the war, and then talked of victory, or a separate government. As union and obedience to the laws are the first elements of the Constitution, the non-slaveholding States could not yield to such pretentions accompanied by menace and force. Hence the conflict. When it will end, time must unfold. Happily, a wise and beneficent Providence rules over all."

During the war Dr. Sparks was anxious, but not faltering; very desirous of victories, and depressed under defeats. Being, of course, exempted from liability to draft, he nevertheless sent a substitute to the field. His pecuniary contributions for patriotic and benevolent purposes were as large and generous as his sympathies. With a relieved and grateful heart he welcomed the result of the war, which secured the unity and the perpetuity of the nation.

Dr. Sparks, though now on the limits of lengthened age, and impaired in bodily vigor, was still strong and earnest in the unabated faculties of his mind. But he had come to the end of his appointed span. One week only of confinement and of medical oversight intervened between his being abroad and his death; and although this was a week of intense anxiety to his family and his closest friends who were with him, it was a period of but little suffering and of perfect patience and peace with himself. His disease was pneumonia. On Tuesday evening, March 6, 1866, he went, in company with one of his daughters, to a small party. When he came home he said that he was cold, and that he had felt cold all the evening. After warming himself he retired; but on the next morning his physician was called, who, on the second day following, asked for a consultation. His life-long and endeared friends, among whom were Mr. Folsom, and Dr. Palfrey his classmate, were with him by night and by day. He steadily grew weaker. But there could scarcely be a more painless and placid mortal illness. He was so pleasant and natural that he did not seem like a sick person, except in the prostration of his strength. He could bear the full light, and even the outer air. He was gratified by the little gifts of love, — flowers and fruits, which bore with them the sympathies of so many who had him in their hearts. His quietness, and even cheerfulness and freedom from all distress, seemed to be a Divine blessing upon his well-spent life. On Sunday evening his children were around him, and with no consciousness that he was giving them his last lesson, he spoke to them in words of exceeding sweetness and beauty, closing with the sentence, —

> "Strive to do good and you will bring it to pass."

At last, he simply ceased to breathe, on the morning of Wednesday, March 14, having nearly completed his seventy-seventh year.

On the Saturday following, at noon, the College tasks being suspended, his mortal remains were borne, in a massive, unadorned casket of native oak, to the Appleton Chapel, and there, amid a concourse of saddened but loving and revering friends, the funeral rites were rendered to the Christian, the scholar, the honored head of the University, the patriot historian, the helping guide and patron of many who had struggled and wrought in the measure of their experience and devotion as he had done. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright," were the words which introduced the reading from the Scriptures, on that occasion. His remains were interred at Mount Auburn.

Dr. Sparks left one son, a student in the College, and three daughters, to the care of their mother.

It is pleasant to contemplate the peaceful close of a well-filled and perfected human life. After one has traced its course through a generous allotment of years in useful labors for enduring results, as contributions to the world's stock of wisdom and virtue; and after the private papers, the secrets of struggle and purpose, have been open to his eye, to be read only as if in the presence and under the mild watchfulness of the writer of them, one may find relief from the strain of mind under which he has wrought, by repeating the words, "It is finished!" And in degree, in exact degree, as the Spirit and Law of Him whose words by special consecration those are, have guided the life of any one who has been self-pledged to high tasks and right ways, may the sentence be fitly spoken, over our friends and benefactors. Even over the piled-up volumes which contain the work that he performed, we must say, as over the end of the career of every good and great man, that he left more of his purposes and his resolutions unaccomplished. And yet those volumes do substantially contain the "American History," which Dr. Sparks desired and intended to write. The reader of them may trace in them the rise and development of this republic. Their pages carry him over the whole territory which it originally embraced, and recognize the agency of all the leading actors, all the important events, the enterprises, discomfitures, and successes which entered into its organization and its full establishment. When we consider the number and variety of the biographies in his works, both those which are full and elaborate, and those which offer only condensed sketches of ascertained facts, and remember that the writer was scrupulously careful to present accurately the opinions and the actions of his subjects, we are tempted to ask, what was there for him to do more?

There is a judicial dignity and gravity in Dr. Sparks's style which well become the subject and matter of the large majority of his volumes. He did not aim for a fascinating or a rhetorical manner in his compositions. He avoided superlatives and all exaggerations. He was religiously considerate in his estimate of the motives, purposes, and characters of men, and rigidly conscientious, as well as deliberate, in pronouncing his judgment upon perplexed or contested issues involving reproach and honor for public actors. He had a profound sense of the responsibility of an historian or a biographer, whose pages would stand for authorities, to be followed, trusted, and quoted indefinitely onward,—binding him to accuracy, candor, and charity, as he put on permanent record assertions or opinions which he was supposed to have had peculiar, if not exclusive, means for verifying or knowing. The most expressive tribute of confidence and deference paid to Dr. Sparks for the qualities just ascribed to him, is found in the fact that might be richly illustrated here if space allowed, that in some sharp controversies and personal disputes between several later historians and biographers and those who, as representatives of public men, have challenged them for alleged misrepresentations of their ancestors, Dr. Sparks has in every case been recognized as an impartial arbiter. I have read a pile of pamphlets touching the deserts and fame of Generals Greene, Sullivan, and Schuyler, and President Reed, and others, as perilled by some judgment of Mr. Bancroft's, brought under question by grandsons and friendly champions, and in every case have noted how valuable to either side is the judicial estimate anticipated in the pages of the editor of Washington. The phenomenon is certainly of striking signification.

From a large number of cases illustrating one beautiful and noble trait of his mind, which I have met with in examining his unpublished papers, I select for mention a few, given as answers to correspondents who had questioned him on points of historical interest. A Roman Catholic prelate writes to him, asking, if he thinks there is warrant for believing that Lafayette ever uttered the remark so currently attributed to him, "That if the liberty of the United States is ever destroyed it will be by Romish priests?" Dr. Sparks thought there was not. Other questioners submit to him the following interrogatories: Whether he believes that, as was reported, the British officer who received Ledyard's sword, at the surrender of Fort Griswold, at Groton, instantly ran it through the body of his prisoner? Whether Tobias Lear abstracted a portion of the correspondence between Washington and Jefferson? Whether the discreditable reports about Jefferson had a real foundation, or were calumnies? Whether the stories about Franklin's duplicity, self-seeking, and cross-intriguing at the Court of France, should be believed? To all these questions Dr. Sparks replies, not only in the spirit of magnanimity and charity, as if wishing to give the accused the benefit of every doubt, with a kind defence of them against a possible injustice, but also with a ready will to produce reasons and arguments in grateful vindication of them. He knew well the difference and the distance between rumors, slanders, and misleading traditions, with the easy terms through which they get birth and currency, and the well-certified truths of history. Where there was occasion for using a severe epithet, he would select never the worst. But he never used the opprobrious adjectives. The following beautiful sentence I quote from one of his letters to a historical writer, whose work he was commending: —

> "Truth is so noble and persuasive a quality in historical compositions, that no pains should be spared to preserve it from the least shadow or tint which can impair its dignity or tarnish its beauty."

Dr. Sparks paid a deferential regard to "the dignity of history," and with him that phrase signified much. Probably he has used it in some of his printed volumes; but it was often on his lips, and was always a recognized canon in his mind and taste. Soberness and discrimination characterize his mode of dealing with the most exciting and perplexed matters which he had to relate, or on which he was called to pass judgment. In reading his letters, not only on private and personal, but on public and important historical, subjects, I have met with many utterances of vivacity, and even of humor, which he did not allow to appear on the printed page. He must often have had in his mind the fable which reminds the writer, as well as the reader, of history, that very much allowance is to be made for the fact, that it is the man, and not the lion, that paints the picture of the fight between them. In a letter to the editor of the journal of one of the loyalists in the Revolutionary War, he writes as follows: –

> "In all wars, particularly in civil wars, there are outrages on both sides; and the conquering party tells its story in its own way, concealing or excusing its own faults, and exaggerating those of its opponents. Witness the accounts which the Romans have given of the Carthaginians, and the manner in which our writers have described the Indian wars. If Hannibal or Sassacus had written histories, we should now see important portions of history under a different aspect."

While he was filling his historical Professorship, Dr. Sparks allowed himself this lively strain in a letter to President Everett, approving warmly his Inauguration Address: —

> "A strange fancy has got into the heads of men, that change is progress; innovation, improvement; that a road through a labyrinth is shorter than a straight one across a plain, open country; that confusion is method; that it is easier to stumble among molehills than to climb steadily and patiently up the mountain's side. In short, I have no sympathy with 'tabular views,' 'voluntary studies,' or with ponderous volumes of figures, called 'scales of merit.' I do not believe a young man is so well qualified for his station in life, be it what it may, by a fragmentary education as by a complete one. He is like a portico with half the columns broken, or a statue with an arm gone and the head fractured. Nor do I believe that he is a mathematical instrument, or a machine with wheels and cogs, whose progress in study is to be measured on a dial-plate."

Dr. Sparks subsisted through his whole life, after his boyhood, upon what he acquired by his own mental and literary labors. Without even a thought for pecuniary profit, or a moment's regard for any rewarding result other than that of a noble and laborious task faithfully performed, he might still find satisfaction in realizing that his arduous and prolonged toil, with a patient waiting for deferred fruits, had furnished him competence as well as a livelihood. Of course he had to make large outlays for his materials. More than a hundred thousand dollars was spent in bringing out his "Washington's Writings." He closes all his directions and requests to those who were gathering and copying papers for him, with most generous allowance for all charges, and his provisions for punctual remittances were scrupulous. He had also a ready, though secret, repository, from which he drew for a varied benevolence, public and private, to advance high interests, to foster humble merit, to cheer the straits of struggling students.

He had a noble person, well proportioned, massive, but not heavy; a head of size, with an expanded and thoughtful brow, with quiet eyes, gentle features, and an expression of delicate refinement that became the high-toned gentleman and the consistent Christian. A shade of pensiveness, occasionally deepening into sadness, and betokening some introspective working of his thought or purpose, as engaged with profound themes or large mysteries, was a marked aspect of his, alike in public and in private. He had had rare privileges of intercourse with eminent and accomplished men and women, at home and abroad; and in that intercourse he was ever at ease, never recognizing or yielding to assumption. He drew to himself everywhere a sincere respect, and generally a strong affection. He had great tenderness of feeling. He indulged a spirit of playfulness with the young, and could answer his correspondents of the other sex with becoming sentiments and strains, whether of graceful comment or of smart pleasantry. It may well be left to those who knew him, or only read of him, to judge how fond and devoted and helpful he was in the scenes of the household and in the privacies of domestic life. His affections for those nearest him were gentle and strong. In the providential allotments of life, he had a large share of happiness.

In a letter written by him, in reply to one who seems to have sought from him a sketch of his life, as well as help in the selection of some extracts from his writings, for a literary compend, I find this sentence: "As to the events of my life, they are not such as can be of the least importance to the public, except as they appear in the results of my literary labors." May we not add to this modest self-estimate, that there are other "results" of his life in the noble and fruitful influences wrought by his character?

The extensive circulation of the works written or edited by Dr. Sparks, and the character of their themes and subjects, gave him a wide fame. Literary and learned associations, at home and abroad, readily proffered him their honors, making him either a resident or an honorary or corresponding member, and sending him their diplomas. I cannot find from his papers, in which he records such complimentary favors, that he rejected in a single instance any of these proffered courtesies. In every case he would appear to have accepted a membership of every such society when offered to him, though many of them, scattered over our whole country, are so obscure or local in their character, that it is rather amusing to think of him as an associate with all the men and women that composed them. His kindliness of spirit, his appreciation of any well-meant tribute, and his hearty interest in fostering all efforts for culture, however modest, disposed him readily to yield his name for all such worthy uses. In his letters accepting membership of very many miscellaneous societies over our own country, after returning his thanks, approving their design, and wishing for their prosperity, — dropping sometimes valuable hints to direct inquiry or action, — he generally closes by intimating that his distance from their centres, and inability to attend their meetings, will make him "an unprofitable member."

Among the diplomas preserved on his files, besides those from the Colleges, the following, with their dates, indicate his election to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1826; to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in 1834; to the American Philosophical Society, in 1837; as a "Membre Fondateur de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord," at Copenhagen, in 1837; to the Antiquarian Society of Athens, in 1838; to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in 1838; to the Historical and Geographical Society of Brazil, in 1839; to The Scientific and Literary Society of Palermo, in 1844; to the Historical Society of Connecticut, in 1844; to the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, in 1845; to the Philosophical and Historical Society of Missouri, in 1848; to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Turin, in 1849; to the Society of Antiquarians at London, in 1854; to the Historical Society of New Mexico, and the Vermont Historical Society, in 1860. He was also a member, and, at the time of his decease, the Corresponding Secretary, of the American Antiquarian Society.

A special meeting of the last-named Society was held at Worcester, two days after the decease of Dr. Sparks, at which the President, the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the Rev. Dr. Hill, Judge Barton, and Mr. S. F. Haven, speaking to resolutions of most affectionate and discriminating eulogiums of the departed, paid him the warmest tributes of their respect and admiration.

Dr. Sparks was also an honored member of the Maryland Historical Society (1844). By request of the Society, its President, Brantz Mayer, Esq., prepared and read before its annual meeting, Feb. 7, 1867, a memoir of their cherished associate, which, while glowing with the warmth of a long-existing and ardent personal friendship, gives likewise a masterly sketch of the literary life and works, and of the character of its subject.

Stuart's portrait of Mr. Sparks was taken in 1827–8, and left unfinished on account of the latter's absence in Europe. "But Stuart hated to finish any thing."

The bust by Persico was taken by the artist, at his own prompting, in December, 1834.

The bust by Powers has been already referred to as procured by the students graduating under his Presidency of the College.

There are portraits by Peale, Rand, Healy, and Alexander, beside various others, and several miniatures.

Wyman, Thomas B., donation from, 33.
Wyat, *Sir* Francis, 25, 26.
Wyatt, W. E., *D.D.*, his controversy with J. Sparks, 242, 243.

Y.

Yale College, 113, 407.
Yale College Library, 404.
Yarmouth, *N.S.*, inscription at, 93.
York, 489.
York, *Duke of*, 163.
Young, ——, cited, 244.
Young, Alexander, *D.D.*, 433. Sketch of, 431–432.
Young *v.* Adams, 54.
Young, Stephen J., donations from, 21, 344.

ERRATA.

Page 16, *note*, bottom line, read "iii. 309–11."
„ 18, line 7, for "illegible signature or mark" read "Mamoho."
„ 68, line 18, for "subjects-matter" read "subject-matters."
„ 108, line 13 from bottom, for "President of Bowdoin College" read "pronounced at Bowdoin College."
„ 126, *note*, line 6 from bottom, the ")" should be placed after the word "pages" instead of after the figures "45."
„ 208, line 19 from bottom should read, "But these seem to be blown over."
„ 292, line 5, for "intersets" read "interests."
„ 298, line 18, read, "the *copies* from the original autographs."
„ 326, line 8 from bottom, read "a quarter past 1 night."
„ 327, line 12 from bottom, "1637–3" should be placed against the line above.
„ 333, *note*, 8th line from bottom, read, "an extract from the manuscript journal, &c., communicated by Frederic Kidder, Esq."
„ 444, top line, for "Ohio" read "Illinois."